



GREEK BRONZES

BY

A. S. MURRAY, LL. D.

GREEK TERRACOTTA STATUETTES

BY

C. A. HUTTON



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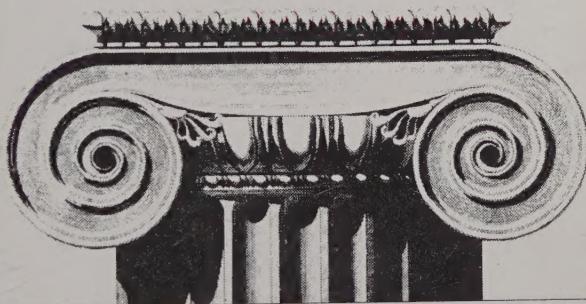
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BY

A. S. MURRAY, LL.D.,

KEEPER OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

AND

GREEK TERRACOTTA STATUETTES

BY

C. A. HUTTON

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

SEELEY AND CO. LIMITED

38, GREAT RUSSELL STREET

1899



British Museum.

Walter S. Colles, Ph. L.

Archaic Figure. Sixth Century, B.C.

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By

A. S. MURRAY, LL.D., F.S.A.

Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum



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SEELEY AND CO., LIMITED, GREAT RUSSELL STREET

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GREEK BRONZES

I

Archaic Statuettes—General Remarks

IN a large collection of ancient bronze statuettes, such as that of the British Museum, there are necessarily many which have no particular merit as works of art, yet even the most insignificant of them may here and there be of service to an artist. Let me give an instance. We have a very small bronze of a Gaulish woman—apparently a prisoner of war—which hardly any one would think of stopping to look at (Fig. 1). It happens, however, that a distinguished French sculptor, M. Chapu, caught sight of this figure, and made a sketch of it many years ago when on a visit here. Time passed, and he produced his celebrated statue of Joan of Arc; where she is represented seated on the ground with both hands clasped vigorously round one knee. Our statuette is also seated on the ground, and there is no doubt that this posture was characteristic of Gaulish women in circumstances of despair. Thereupon a candid archæologist wrote to the sculptor



FIG. 1.—*Gaulish Female Prisoner.*
British Museum.

calling his attention to the resemblance between his statue and the small bronze in the British Museum. M. Chapu searched his notebooks, found the sketch he had made, and forwarded it along with a drawing of his own statue. The resemblance extends only to the posture of the two figures ; and the most that can be said is, that the sight of our small bronze may have helped the sculptor unconsciously to select, from among other conceptions then floating in his mind, the one which he finally worked out. The moral of the story seems to be that the most insignificant of our statuettes may, on a propitious occasion, render a true service to an artist. And the reason no doubt is this, that many of them reproduce the conceptions of men more gifted than the actual makers of the statuettes.

At present we know almost nothing of who the men were who made our bronze statuettes, whether they had been attached to the workshops of sculptors, or whether they were a class by themselves, standing in much the same relation to the sculptors as the painters of Greek vases stood to the great painters of their day. Most probably they were a class of minor artists created by the constant demand for statuettes to be dedicated in the temples. The excavations on the Acropolis of Athens and at Olympia have shown how vast must have been the number of the statuettes deposited by devotees in these places.

On the other hand, it does not follow that the whole of our bronze statuettes had been made by this special class of craftsmen. We are told of one sculptor whose small models fetched extravagant prices, and we can believe that even greater men than he had occasionally produced statuettes finished with every accuracy of detail, and had allowed them to be cast in bronze. There may have been some etiquette limiting the production of such figures. That we do not know ; but certainly not a few of our statuettes are of such excellence that we can hardly believe them to be the work of minor craftsmen, notwithstanding the extraordinary skill we see occasionally displayed by those other craftsmen, the vase-painters.

We have almost no direct information as to how far bronze statuettes had been employed by the Greeks for the adornment of their dwelling-houses. We know that Alexander the Great carried about on his campaigns a small bronze Heracles, the work of his favourite sculptor Lysippos. In Roman times Sulla carried in his bosom when in battle a

small figure of Apollo, and much the same is told of Nero and of Hadrian. We may fairly conjecture that the desire to be surrounded in their homes by beautiful bronzes had been customary among the well-to-do people of antiquity. Pompeii and Herculaneum were essentially



FIG. 2.—*Bronze Mirror-case.*
Greek work, about 400 B.C. British Museum.

Greek towns. Possibly enough the luxury of private life may have been greater there than in the older cities of Greece proper. But even making a liberal allowance of that kind, we should still be struck by the number of beautiful bronzes in the museum of Naples, collected from the ruins of private houses at Pompeii and Herculaneum. In many instances these

bronzes were attached to pieces of furniture, or were kept in show-cases, as nowadays. Larger specimens stood on pillars. These bronzes are exclusively of Greek workmanship, and we may fairly suppose that in Greece itself there had prevailed a more or less similar degree of household taste. At present we have at all events this testimony, that in Greek tombs of the best age there are frequently discovered bronze mirrors supported on statuettes of great beauty, as also circular mirror-cases grandly enriched with reliefs, as in Fig. 2, with its splendid steadfast face set in the midst of wavering curls. It cannot be supposed that these objects had not previously served for daily use or household adornment.

When we find large numbers of statuettes presented to the temples of the gods we are almost bound to conclude that these objects had been precious in the eyes of the donors. Many of them no doubt were images of a favourite deity, as of Athenè on the Acropolis of Athens. We can understand these having been purchased and taken direct to the temple without in any way being associated with the home life of the devotee. But there remains a vast number of bronzes found on the Acropolis and at Olympia which do not come into this category. It may be that the donors of these had usually no feeling beyond that of making a gift to the god. Still one would like to think that a large proportion of the bronzes found on the sites of temples had at one time been valued in the daily life of the people. To surrender what was most prized for the sake of future happiness was an idea familiar to the Greeks. The reader will remember the incident of Polycrates. He had been told to throw into the sea what he valued highest, and chose a ring from his finger. But apparently he had not been sufficiently sincere in his choice, because the ring was found subsequently inside a fish and brought back to him.

It is interesting and almost necessary to compare for a moment the bronze with the terra-cotta statuettes which also exist in great numbers in our museums. One would suppose that the terra-cottas must have similarly served the purpose of household adornment before being committed to the tombs, and that the same models which had been made for the bronzes would have been utilised again for the cheaper production of terra-cottas. As a matter of fact the later terra-cottas, from Tanagra and elsewhere, have little in common with the bronzes.

They reproduce only a limited number of types, such as that of a beautifully dressed woman. They ring the changes on this type indefinitely. It would almost seem as if they had been made for the women's quarters in Greek houses. At all events, in singular contrast to this limitation of the terra-cottas is the boundless variety of subject in the contemporary bronzes. It is only when we go back to older periods that we find a closer alliance between the bronzes and terra-cottas not only in the subjects they represent but even more remarkably in the style of workmanship. So much is this the case that one is tempted to believe that in the older times the same class of craftsmen who made the bronzes made also the terra-cottas. It was a simple matter to make a clay mould from a bronze statuette and then to take a cast from it in terra-cotta. The only difficulty was this, that the bronze original being in most cases highly finished down to the minutest detail, it was necessary to employ the finest possible clay in making the mould and the cast. A consequence was that this extremely fine clay became easily cracked under the process of firing. That is obvious in a number of specimens in the British Museum. It was natural that the bronze-workers who in the first instance had modelled their figures in clay, would combine with their more proper occupation the production of copies in a cheaper material.

The only exact information we possess as to the composition of ancient bronzes is derived from the analyses that have been made in modern times. No doubt Pliny gives certain statements (xxxiv. 6, 9), but they are useless when he mentions details, and only amusing where he reports that the alloy which made the Corinthian bronze so famous had been discovered at the sack of Corinth by the Romans under Mummius, when vessels of gold, silver, and bronze melted together in the conflagration and produced a golden bronze. That was in 146 B.C., whereas the charms of the gold-like Corinthian bronze had been known long before. Nevertheless, the story, though of late origin, may have been based on a tradition as to the use of gold as an alloy of bronze, because from several specimens of ancient bronzes that have been analysed it has been seen that gold and silver were actually employed. An archaic fibula yielded 7 per cent of gold, over 20 per cent of silver, and 73 per cent of copper. Another belief was that the Corinthian

bronze derived its beauty from being cooled in the water of the fountain of Peirene.

Having given this brief introductory sketch, I may now state that my purpose in this monograph is to select only such of our statuettes as may reasonably be brought into connection with certain epochs of ancient sculpture, not altogether for the sake of the bronzes themselves, but in a greater measure because of the opportunities they afford of associating them with sculptors of renown, and of tracing the influence of Greek sculpture outside of Greece itself, as among the Etruscans or among the peoples of Gaul and Britain. In the history of Greek art much is already known of its main epochs, yet hardly a year passes without something being brought to light from Greek soil which shows how much there is still to be done in the way of a more minute analysis of artistic motives and style in the sculptures with which we have been long acquainted. In this and the next chapter I propose to consider a certain number of bronzes of the archaic period, not because of any particular artistic importance in themselves from a modern point of view, but because they help to show how the artistic mind of those early times was working its way towards a new solution of the problem of what sculpture should be. It was a critical moment for the Greeks. Their poets had already shown how the Greek language could be modulated into new forms of song, undreamt of by the older nations of antiquity, and never since surpassed. The sculptors had to take up the same parable ; and if less successful in many instances than the poets, we must remember that the methods and appliances of sculptors are not so easily changed as those of poets.

We begin with a figure which has been longer and more widely known than any other ; and the reason is this, that up to now it is the best copy in existence of a particularly famous statue. We are told that Darius, King of Persia, when he sacked the town of Miletus in 494 B.C., carried off from a neighbouring temple, long famous for its oracle, a bronze statue of Apollo, the work of a Greek sculptor, Canachos. After a lapse of nearly two centuries, when Persia had been forced to yield to the Macedonian conquest, the statue was returned to Miletus, and thereafter appears on the coinage of that town, where it is represented as an archaic statue of Apollo holding out a fawn in his right hand. Many instances are known

of statues which had become famous in one way or another, being copied on local coins ; and when it was remembered that Pliny had described the Apollo of Canachos as holding out a deer in one hand, hardly a doubt



FIG. 3.—*Bronze Statuette. Apollo of Miletus. British Museum.*

could remain that the figure on the coins of Miletus was that same Apollo. But the workmanship of the coins is too rude to be of any artistic use. At this point the statuette comes to our aid. We see at

once that it has been copied from the same original as the coin. And though much may be wanting in the spirit, as undoubtedly there is in the details, yet we may be thankful for being thus able to realise at least the pose, the proportions, and the general structure of the original.

There is, however, one difficulty that ought to be mentioned here, though it is more curious than serious. Pliny says (I quote the translation of Miss Jex-Blake, xxxiv. 75): "Kanachos made the nude Apollo which is named the Lover, and is in the temple at Didyma, of Æginetan bronze, and with it a stag so poised upon its feet that a thread can be drawn beneath them while the heel and toe alternately catch the ground, both parts working with a jointed mechanism in such a way that the impact suffices to make them spring backwards and forwards." At first sight this description seems to answer to a different type of Apollo, either the one in which the god holds a deer by the fore feet while the hind feet touch the ground, or another in which he holds out on the palm of his hand a deer standing on its feet. In both these instances some such mechanism could have been employed as that described by Pliny, and it might perhaps further be argued that the maker of the statuette, finding it difficult or unsuitable to reproduce the deer standing on its feet, had modified it as we see in the bronze. On the other hand, no such modification was necessary on the coins. It would there have been as easy to render the fawn standing on the palm of the god as lying on it, which is the case on the coins.

So far as I remember, no one has succeeded in reconciling Pliny's description with the deer lying on the palm as seen on the statuette and on the coins; and till that is done we must, I think, conclude that Pliny has mixed up two different statues of Apollo by Canachos. Now we know from another ancient writer (Pausanias, ix. 10, 2) "that Canachos had made two separate statues of Apollo, that the difference between them consisted in this, that the one was of bronze while the other was of cedar-wood, that they were identical in size and appearance, and that any person who had seen the one would not require much knowledge to recognise the other as the work of Canachos." It seems odd that Pausanias, after insisting so expressly on the identity of the two statues in all but the material of which they were made, should have added the remark, "that any person who had seen the one would not require much

knowledge to recognise the other as the work of Canachos." In the circumstances it seems to me possible that these words may contain the admission of some difference of detail, the one statue having the deer lying on the palm of the hand, the other having the deer standing on its feet on the palm of the hand, or perhaps even holding it by the fore feet while the hind feet reached the ground.

The cedar statue was to be seen in a temple close to Thebes, and was known as the Apollo Ismenios, from the river that flowed close by. The bronze statue of Miletus was called the Apollo Philesios, an epithet which Miss Jex-Blake has translated "the Lover" as others had done before. The translation may be right, but it is curious to find the one statue known by a strictly local designation, and the other, its duplicate, by so vague a title as "the Lover." One would rather expect to find under the epithet Philesios a corresponding local name.

But what was the symbolism of holding out a deer on the hand? We often see the goddess Aphroditè holding out similarly a dove, Athenè an owl, Zeus an eagle, Poseidon a dolphin or the head of a horse. In these instances the creatures held out in the hand are the symbols of the deities, just as the deer no doubt is the symbol of Apollo. It is the meaning of this action of holding out on the hand a symbolic animal that one would like to have explained. Had the sculptor merely intended to indicate Apollo, as distinguished say from Hermes, a deer at his feet would have done equally well. I suppose the holding out of it in the hand implies a greater demonstrativeness, as much as to say, "That is my favourite animal; when you see it, respect it as you do me." With the same significance Athenè and Zeus hold out with the right hand a Victory, the greatest of divine symbols.

The bow which had been held in the left hand of our figure was also a symbol of Apollo. Among other functions he was a god of the chase, to whose arrows many a stag may have fallen. We must be careful, however, not to imagine that the fawn in his right hand has been introduced by the sculptor to indicate the trophies of Apollo. The creature is too small and insignificant for that. Something different must have been intended. The tiny form would indicate the class of creatures which Apollo protected till such times as they were fit to look after themselves against the far-reaching bow. Yet even with this explanation,

one feels that there is something not altogether as could be wished in the juxtaposition of the fawn and the deadly bow.

Cicero, with an air of depreciation for those who, like himself, valued such minor things as works of art, says, "Who of us does not know that the statues of Canachos are too rigid to be true to nature?" The remark applies perfectly to our statuette, which is plainly too rigid to be true to nature. Yet we may wish that Cicero had gone more into particulars, and left us a detailed criticism which we could have understood. But his remark is at least the testimony of one of the greatest men in the world's history to the effect that Canachos, whatever his faults, was one of the sculptors of Greece whose works were worthy of study. It was easy for Cicero as for us to point to the rigidity of such figures as the Apollo. But we have to bear in mind that every age has its limitations, whether conscious of them or not, and that in the age of Canachos these limitations prescribed that a statue, even when meant to be in repose, could not be rendered except as strained throughout every limb. Public taste would have revolted against anything else. If one could imagine—what of course is an impossibility—a sculptor of those days producing a statue with all the freedom of movement of the Apollo Belvedere, I suppose it would have been received with shouts of derision, as befitting the work of an artist two centuries in advance of his time. The taste of the age abhorred everything that was not precise, more or less formal, and always gracious to look upon according to its own standard. So much so, that one wonders how a great sculptor could express himself within such limitations, but that is because we exaggerate what seems to us artistic fetters and hindrances, forgetting that to those early sculptors, unconscious of such hindrances, every new step in advance must have appeared an inspiration of infinitely greater moment than we can now realise—looking back as we do, while they looked forward.

From these considerations we turn again to the Museum statuette, remarking that if it be compared with others of about the same date it will be seen that it has a distinction of its own which alone would mark it off as a copy from a celebrated statue. The elaborate way in which the hair is arranged in two rows of curls over the brow is not what one would expect in a statuette. It will be observed that they project in a very prominent manner, so much so that if this projection

were proportionately increased in a life-sized statue the effect would be ridiculous. The inference seems to be that in the original statue this manner of wearing the hair had been a conspicuous feature which the copyist had determined to preserve at all costs.

The shortness and slightness of the thighs in comparison with the lower part of the legs give the statuette a singularly ungainly appearance. We cannot charge so glaring a fault to Canachos, with all his rigidity of pose; but we can imagine a copyist of later date missing by just a little a system of proportions which he no longer understood.

To what date, then, are we to assign the bronze statuette? Was it copied from the statue before it was carried off to Persia by Darius, or was it made after the statue was restored to Miletus in the third century B.C.? I am inclined to the latter alternative not only for the reasons already given, but also because in the rendering of the bodily forms there is a remarkable softening down and rounding off where in true archaic work we see the forms of bones and muscles sharply and strongly defined. The return of the statue in the third century was, as we have seen, the occasion of introducing representations of it on the coins of Miletus, and we may reasonably conclude that the public rejoicing had led also to the production of statuettes of the famous Apollo, copied as exactly as was possible in a later age. It may be asked, "If all these allowances have to be made for the copyist, what remains of the original of Canachos?" There remains this, that however much the copyist may have varied from the original to its detriment, yet the bronze statuette stands out conspicuously among its contemporaries as a copy of a great statue, and that up to now it is the only thing we can turn to with any confidence when we read in ancient writers of the fame of Cañachos.

The statuette of Victory (Fig. 4) to which I next call attention is by itself an interesting example of archaic sculpture in the sixth century B.C. Though worked in the round, the figure is practically a relief. The wide-spreading wings with their close-lying pinions, the fine flat folds of the drapery, and the sideward movement of the goddess, have all been thought out on the archaic principles of relief such as prevailed in the sixth century. The swiftness of her movement is clearly and decisively expressed in the upper folds of the dress and in the long tresses of hair which are dashed backward in her speed, but still it is all in the manner of a relief, and that

is not surprising when we remember to what extent the energies of early Greek sculptors had been devoted to relief in bronze. What the object may be which she holds in the fingers of her right hand has not been explained. Nothing of the kind occurs in the Victories of subsequent art. But we must be prepared to expect small difficulties of that sort when we recollect that at the time with which we are at present concerned, both art and poetry abounded in winged female figures, which served to the Greek mind as personifications of many different powers, such as fate, strife, and so on ; the one seldom distinguished from the other except by some slight emblem. In time these numerous personifications became consolidated, so to speak, in the figure of *Nikè* or Victory ; and we can hardly be far wrong, though as yet we cannot explain the object in the right hand, in identifying our bronze as a *Nikè*.

In the art of the great age it was usual to give Victory a pose as if flying with her wings raised almost upright from the shoulders, and in many of these instances we see how magnificently the wings of a great bird may be combined with the human form. The splendid curve of the wing, just where it springs from the body of the bird, is, I suppose, unrivalled in nature as an indication of physical power. In that great age the wings of *Nikè* had become accepted as facts, and sculptors were free to use them in accordance with their own knowledge or observation of the actual wings or flight of a great bird.

But in the archaic age of the sixth century B.C. the wings of Victory were mainly accepted as mere auxiliaries to her speed. She might even have wings to her heels as well as to her shoulders. The one thing to attain was swiftness. Her movement is generally in a horizontal direction, and may be described as running with the imaginary help of wings. Apparently the artists had no intention of trying to reconcile the action of these figures with the natural movement of a bird beyond that of spreading the wings sideways. Truth of that kind was of less importance to them than the beauty of the wings themselves, with their long sweeping lines enclosing narrow, flat surfaces which lie contiguously, and appealed irresistibly in an early stage of art, when artists did not care for more truth to Nature than what was necessary for the moment.

Another delight of those early sculptors was in the contrasts which they found, or established, between the more or less horizontal lines of

the wings and the vertical lines of the drapery as seen in the bronze. The effect was one of balance and stability as against the rapid movement of the figure. There was the contrast also between the feathers of the wings, rigid and flat by nature, and the folds of the dress where they are thrown into irregularity by the accident of movement. There was the contrast also of nude forms as against drapery and wings. I have pointed to these contrasts, not because it is necessary to emphasise the value



FIG. 4.—*Archaic Bronze Victory. British Museum.*

and importance of them at all times, but specially because in the older arts of Egypt and Assyria nothing of the kind had been recognised to any extent; because the Greeks were the first to indicate the supreme importance of such things, and because in our statuette the separate values of wings, drapery, and nude forms have obviously been the subject of anxious consideration.

In archaic sculpture of the sixth century B.C. we have often occasion to notice the habit of lifting the skirt a little. It was the fashion then

for women to wear long dresses falling to the ground in many fine folds, especially on public occasions when they went to attend ceremonies in the temples. Ordinary prudence would suggest lifting the skirt from the ground. But we see this action frequently also in figures which are standing placidly. It is almost always only a slight movement, just enough to throw the otherwise vertical and straight folds into becoming disorder. Most probably the effect was fully appreciated by the women themselves. It was certainly seized on eagerly by the artists of the time. Even in our bronze statuette it is retained as we see by the action of the left hand, although this action was hardly necessary in her case when the agitated movement of the figure was of itself sufficient to furnish any amount of disorder in the folds of the dress. But force of habit was strong. Force of habit was also answerable for the manner in which the drapery is made to descend to the pedestal in a large broad mass. In a marble figure we can readily understand how that would have been necessary or advisable for strength and security. But in a bronze that hardly needed to be thought of, and cannot well be accounted for except from the influence of sculpture in marble. But apart from this we know, from a number of winged bronze figures found some years ago on the Acropolis of Athens, how firmly established in archaic art had been this custom of making the drapery descend to the pedestal in a broad mass. The upper folds of drapery which, like her tresses, are being driven backward by the force of her movement are, of course, thinner and lighter than the heavy mass of the skirt, and therefore much more susceptible to movement. That the artist has observed this very well must stand to his credit, considering how seldom observations of this kind occur in the art of his time.

In Greek legend we read that the first sculptor Daidalos had fashioned a pair of wings for his son Icaros, who, having soared aloft gaily for a space, at last reached a point where the artificial wings gave way, whereupon he fell headlong into the sea. If we may judge from ancient representations, the wings of Icaros are supposed to have been attached to his arms at the shoulders and wrists, much in the manner of the right arm and wing of our bronze, and in accordance with the general rule of figures of this class. The exceptions are few where the wings start in the front of the body as if springing from the chest bones, though it must be

allowed that the effect so produced conveys a much more obvious resemblance to a bird, and therefore a more appropriate application of wings to the human form than in the other case, where the wings spring from the shoulder-blades and appear like auxiliaries fitted to the arms.

Another curious exception is that of Hypnos, the god of sleep, of



FIG. 5.—Marble Victory by Archermos. Athens.

whom there are several ancient representations in existence, in particular a beautiful bronze head in the British Museum, all alike going back to some famous original apparently of the time of Praxiteles if not actually by him (Plate II.). The wings start from the temples, and we know that in this instance the wings are those of a night-bird, such as an owl, which travels without noise or sound. We know further that Hypnos on one occasion was ordered to take the form of some such night-bird

and to pipe from a tree till he put to sleep Zeus, the father of gods and men. But we have no explanation as to why the wings of Hypnos should start from his temples. When we see a pair of wings springing from the hair of Hermes, the messenger of the gods, we accept them as representing the winged cap or petasus which he usually wore, and as indicating either the speed or the silence with which he travelled. Hypnos had no occasion for speed. It was silence that was his gift, and silence after all is the best inducement to sleep. Among mankind it is, as has been remarked, a general habit, in lying down to sleep, to rest the temples on the hollow of the hand. There is probably some good physiological reason for so universal a practice. But it is enough for our purpose that ancient artists had observed this habit. The next step would be to assign the temples as specially the seat of sleep, and to attach to them the silently moving wings of a night-bird.

So far we have said nothing of what is perhaps the most interesting feature of our statuette of Victory, its relation to a marble statue found some years ago in the island of Delos, and now in the museum at Athens, along with its pedestal, on which is inscribed the name and genealogy of its sculptor, Archermos of Chios (Fig. 5). Had the Delos statue been found without its inscribed pedestal, we should probably have thought little more of it than of other archaic statues of the same general character, and certainly no one would have attempted to associate it with the famous name of Archermos, so little do we comprehend, as I have already said, the importance which attached in early times to every new advance in art, however slight it may seem to us now. We should have recognised that the Delos statue belonged to an age of transition from working in bronze to working in marble. The rendering of the hair over the forehead in formal wavy lines would have told us of the surviving influence of bronze, while in the rest of the figure the simplicity of the forms and their structural character would have made it clear that a new era of sculpture had dawned with the introduction of marble.

The inscription on the pedestal, stripped of its poetic form, says that the statue was the work of Archermos, son of Mikkiades of the island of Chios. Its importance lies in its obvious connection with a passage of Pliny, where that writer gives with unusual detail and with much circumstance an account of the early school of sculptors in marble in Chios,

formed by successive generations of one and the same family, of whom the best known were Mikkiades, Archermos, and the two sons of Archermos, Bupalos and Athenis, whose sculptures, it was said, had brought more celebrity to Chios than all its vines. Among the places where their works were to be seen, outside of their native island, was Delos, where the marble Nikè was found. Pliny was too much occupied with the romantic element in the lives of these sculptors to furnish a list of their works. But we learn from another ancient writer not only that Archermos did make a figure of Nikè, but also that he was the first to give her wings.

The finding of another pedestal inscribed with the name of Archermos, on the Acropolis at Athens, does not necessarily prove anything more than that a statue by him had found its way to that most critical of cities, but it has suggested—the suggestion is now generally accepted—that those beautiful archaic marble statues of women still to be seen on the Acropolis were the work of his immediate descendants. If that is ever shown to be true, it will then be possible to appreciate the extraordinary attraction which this new phase of sculpture in marble had created, and how much was due to the Chian school.

II

Archaic Etruscan Statuettes

IT is not many years ago yet since all archaic bronze statuettes were regarded as Etruscan. Most of them that were to be seen in museums had been found in Etruria, or at all events in Italy, while as to the few which had unquestionably come from Greece, the answer might have been heard, that they must have been imported into Greece from Etruria. An ancient authority¹ told that the Etruscan sculptors' work (*signa Tuscanica*) had found its way everywhere. In Greek literature the references were many that testified to the admiration in which Etruscan metal work, such as candelabra, vases, and armour, were held by the Greeks.² There the question stood. Nothing more was to be said till the time came for active exploration in Greece itself. One excavation after another brought to light numbers of archaic bronze statuettes, till at last it began to be asked whether, in fact, not a few of the archaic bronzes found in Etruria itself had not been imported there from Greece. That was turning the tables with a vengeance. A lively division of opinion ensued : either the Etruscans had no artistic originality, and were mere imitators of the Greeks ; or they had distinct artistic gifts of their own, while subject to the influence of the contemporary Greeks. In these circumstances, the first thing we have to do is, to learn to discriminate such

¹ Pliny, xxxiv. 34, “*Signa . . . Tuscanica per terras dispersa quae in Etruria factitata non est dubium.*”

² As regards candelabra, see Athenaios, xv. 700, *τίς τῶν λυχνείων ή ἐργασία : Τυρρηνική*, and compare *ibid.* i. 28^b, where a Greek poet, assigning to various nationalities the particular thing for which each was most famous, as, for instance, the Phoenicians for the invention of letters, the Carians for their ships, and the Athenians for their pottery, awards to the Etruscans supremacy in all kinds of bronze work useful and ornamental in a house.

differences of style and execution as distinguish the archaic Etruscan from the contemporary archaic Greek statuettes.

We begin with two specimens which will serve to illustrate the archaic Greek manner of rendering nude male figures, and at the same time show us what sort of progress was made within the archaic period itself. In each of these figures it will be observed that the principal aim of the artist was to secure accuracy in the bodily forms from the point of view of an observer, by whom each detail was regarded as almost a separate entity. As a consequence the particularising of bodily forms, which ought to be of secondary effect, such as the structure of the bones, inevitably led to a formal, almost conventional, manner of rendering them, which had a certain beauty of its own, such as will be seen in the first figure (Fig. 6).

In the second figure (Fig. 7) there is a marked change. The anatomical forms are strongly expressed, even more strongly, in fact, than they ought to be, but formality and conventionalism had largely given way under a new impulse to express, if possible, something of the inner force of organic human life. It must have been just about this time that the Greek sculptor Antenor appeared upon the scene—he who made for the Athenians a bronze group of the Tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, in the act of slaying the tyrant Hipparchos in the streets of Athens. We are told that during the brief period when the Persian king, Xerxes, held possession of Athens, he carried off that group, that subsequently a copy of it was made by two sculptors working conjointly, and that finally, after the conquest of Asia by Alexander the Great, the original group was restored to Athens. After its restoration this group was copied in works of minor art, as on coins and painted vases, apparently from mere joy at the fact of its restoration. By themselves these copies have little worth, but they have enabled archæologists to identify two marble statues in the museum of Naples as more or less faithful copies of the original group.



FIG. 6.
Archaic Greek Bronze.
British Museum.

These statues are known from ancient copies, and as regards one of them we may very confidently say that no better comparison for it could be found than our bronze statuette. The type of head is different to some degree, and the action of the figure is not quite the same.



FIG. 7.—Archaic Greek Bronze. British Museum.

Yet in both figures we have a striking similarity even in conception, still more in the rendering of the bodily forms. There can be no doubt for a moment that our bronze belongs to exactly the period at which Antenor made his famous group of the two Tyrannicides. It tells precisely the same story of the first efforts of Athenian sculptors to break

away from the conventionalisms of older times and to seek gradually a new sphere in the rendering of an inner organic vitality. No one can say that Antenor was the first to strike out on this new path. Others of his contemporaries may equally have been searching in the same direction. That is quite possible. But we have to remember also that the task assigned him in making a group of the two Tyrannicides was one which could not but have stirred in him a deep and strong emotion. The children in the streets of Athens were then singing a rude ballad of how Harmodios and Aristogeiton, concealing their daggers in branches of myrtle as they marched in public procession, found an opportunity of stabbing to the heart the man who had not only wronged them personally, but was an evil to the state. How deeply the people were moved by the event may be gathered from the song of the children, which has survived till now. In such circumstances, the sculptor, who accepted a public commission to celebrate that first great step towards freedom, would naturally be in full sympathy with the popular movement, and likely to strain every fibre of his being towards infusing into his group something of the new life of freedom which had just dawned on Athens.

In the last stage of archaic art, the conventionalisms and vigour, both of them very assertive in the first and second stages, give place to an idealising of the bodily forms which in the next generation was to lead to the school of Pheidias. Simplicity and largeness of manner are diffused through the several principal divisions of the figure, but not through the figure as a whole. That last touch was still wanting, as in Pygmalion's statue, before the goddess had breathed life into it. It is curious how the Greeks delighted to fable the breathing of life into statues. Another instance was that of Pandora, a statue turned alive by the breath of Athenè. Again it was Athenè, the goddess of handicraft and intelligence, who gave life to the figure of a man made by Prometheus. And we perceive something of the same turn of thought when we read of statues by Daidalos having to be fastened lest they should run away. These stories were the invention of a primitive legend-making age. Yet somehow they impress us as if the art instincts of the Greeks had from the beginning observed that a statue, however accurate externally, must have part of the sculptor's own life within it.

Let us now take three Etruscan statuettes of a corresponding date,

and more or less akin in subject. The first (Fig. 8), which is also the most archaic of them, represents a nude male figure carrying a calf on his shoulder. It is a type with which we are familiar in archaic Greek sculpture from a marble statue on the Acropolis of Athens. A more common variant shows us a ram instead of a calf. Sometimes the figure is expressly indicated as the god Hermes, in which case we recognise him as Hermes Criophoros or ram-bearer, a character in which he is said to have once appeared mysteriously in the town of Tanagra at a

time of pestilence, with the result that the plague ceased, to commemorate which happy issue the sculptor Calamis was employed to make a statue of the god as a Criophoros.

There is no doubt, however, that the artistic type of a man carrying a calf or ram on his shoulders had been familiar long before in Greek sculpture, and there is equally, I think, no doubt that the Etruscan who made our statuette had derived his idea from the Greeks. But he had not derived more than the general idea. He has no sense of proportion such as the Greek of that time possessed. He exaggerates not only the size of the calf but the effect of its weight in pressing downwards the head of the figure. Neither of these things is to be seen in the contemporary Greek statue on the Acropolis of Athens. In the face of the bronze much attention is given to minute details, as if it were there



FIG. 8.

*Archaic Etruscan Statuette.
Man carrying a Calf.
British Museum.*

—in the face—principally that the key to the action was to be found. Consistently with this view everything is eliminated from the bodily forms which was not absolutely necessary to convey the general impression.

We may now take a more advanced specimen (Fig. 9)—a figure of Heracles which was found in the Lake of Falterona in Etruria along with a number of highly interesting bronzes now in the Museum. It will be seen that it is almost a direct challenge to the second of our Greek statuettes, each in its way being an exhibition of how robust the human figure may be. But a moment's comparison will show that the robustness of the Etruscan

statuette has been attained to a large extent by the sacrifice of exactness and precision in the details of the bodily forms and by an extraordinary degree of exaggeration. The sculptor was not ignorant of the archaic rules and conventions of his time in regard to proportions and the defining of the separate parts of the human form. We can see that all over the figure. But he could not resist the impulse towards forcible and exaggerated expression, such as is seen perhaps most plainly in the gigantic knot into which the lion's skin is fastened on the breast of Heracles. The body is thrust forward as if swelling with life. The head is turned violently to the side, the features much exaggerated. The whole figure is an instance of breaking away from traditional canons of art without being able as yet to substitute another but equally inflexible set of rules.

A more agreeable effect is produced by our third figure (Fig. 10)—a young man holding in his hand a sword, the blade of which has been broken off. In his limbs and bodily forms there is a youthful sensitiveness which recalls the Greeks of the best days. But having got over this first impression, we cannot disguise the fact that his arms are in size out of all proportion, that the chlamys is fastened round his neck with a studied effect quite foreign to the Greek spirit, and that the face is animated to an exceptional extent. In the face, the hair, and the drapery, which last presents an agreeable contrast to the nude forms, there



FIG. 9.—*Etruscan Heracles. British Museum.*

is much to be admired over and above the general attractions of the bronze. Yet after all there remains something essentially Etruscan in the figure, and that something is exaggeration.

We have not yet considered what an ordinary draped female figure looked like in the archaic age of Greece. Let us take as an example a bronze statuette in the British Museum which stands on its ancient pedestal and wants nothing but the right hand (Plate I.). Most probably that hand had held a flower. There was much of exquisiteness among the Greek women of those days. Satisfied with their own beauty and the perfection of their dress, they liked to dally with a flower in the hand as if a flower were obviously the one thing best suited for them. Our statuette ranges admirably with the series of archaic marble statues on the Acropolis of Athens—the same dress with its multitude of fine folds relieved by richly ornamented borders, and above all the same modest satisfaction as regards dress and demeanour. If our bronze differs from them, the difference lies chiefly in its more advanced type of face. The expression of self-consciousness in the marble statues has given way to a larger and more ideal conception in the bronze.

Our next step is to find an Etruscan statuette of about the same period, and presenting much the same opportunities for the treatment of drapery and for the general expression. In the example before us (Fig. 11) it will be observed that the drapery, as in the Greek statuette, consists of two garments, an under chiton which shows on the breast and right shoulder, as also at the feet, and an upper himation which envelops the figure, passing over the left shoulder. But the folds of this upper himation are indicated with much greater freedom and greater attention to natural effect than in the Greek bronze, which very probably is due to the influence of a somewhat later stage of art. The massive fold which runs diagonally from the left shoulder across the body is quite different in form from anything in Greek sculpture. For one thing it is much ruder, and for another the pattern of circles incised upon it appears on the outside of the fold at one part and on the inside at another. Similarly, where the inner edge of the himation is turned outwards beside the right arm the same pattern again appears as if the himation had been enriched with an identical border both inside and out. That is what the Greeks never did ; and certainly

no Greek would ever have destroyed the massive diagonal fold across the body with an ornamental pattern, for the very simple reason that it is a large fold and not a border.



FIG. 10.—Archaic Etruscan Bronze. British Museum.

On the archaic marble statues of the Acropolis we frequently see a crown on the head richly decorated with painted floral patterns. It is a crown identical in shape with that of the Etruscan statuette, but instead of standing out conspicuously, not to say boastfully, as in the Etruscan

bronze, it is invariably kept down to the most modest and unobtrusive dimensions. That was not to the Etruscan taste. Their love of conspicuousness is seen also in the massive necklace of the bronze and particularly in the intensified features of the face. Yet we are bound to acknowledge that in this figure the workmanship is often excellent. But for an innate habit of exaggeration, the sculptor might perhaps have stood side by side with the Greeks of his day.

The problem which we stated at the beginning, and have thus far endeavoured to illustrate by contemporary examples from Greece and from Etruria, is one that cannot be solved from the statuettes alone. We must look farther afield. We must allow, for instance, that there were some things that the Etruscans could do almost as well as the Greeks in the archaic age ; one was the engraving of gems, and another the production of gold jewellery. On the other hand, there were things where they failed badly, and there is one branch of the minor arts in which their failure is very easily demonstrated—the painting of vases. Every one knows that most of the Greek vases in our museums have been found in Etruscan tombs. They had been imported from Greece by wealthy Etruscans, and it is a testimony to the good taste of these Etruscans that they chose the very finest specimens they could get hold of. Their own workmen were by no means ignorant of the technical processes in use in the making of vases. Yet somehow their attempts to imitate the Greeks are melancholy failures. That is surely a reproach to a people renowned for their skill in terra-cotta work. One speculates in vain as to the cause. It is not enough to remember how the love of beautiful painted vases had distinguished the Greeks from the highly civilised nations of the East, and to assume that this same distinguishing quality was likely to hold good also as against the nations of the West such as the Etruscans, because we know how the Etruscans admired and coveted these products of Greek genius, and how direct and intimate were their relations with the Greeks. There must have been some radical difference in the artistic instincts of the two peoples.

One would suppose that the faculty of incising designs on bronze was practically the same as drawing with a fine brush on a terra-cotta vase. In each case success depends entirely on beauty of line. Is it not, therefore, strange that the Etruscans, who had shrunk from the attempt

at vase-painting, should have devoted themselves to an extraordinary extent to the production of incised drawings on bronze? The explanation may lie partly in this, that it is one thing to execute a drawing on a flat even surface, such as the bronze mirrors and cistæ of the Etruscans,



FIG. 11.—Archaic Etruscan Statuette. British Museum.

and a much more difficult thing to accommodate a drawing to a surface which curves both vertically and horizontally, as is the case with many of the Greek vases. Very probably it was to escape this difficulty that the Etruscans abandoned the painting of vases and threw their energies into drawing on flat bronze surfaces instead, leaving us a vast series of such

drawings out of all comparison with the few specimens which have survived from the Greeks.

We must remember that the Etruscans were never successful in working with the brush on a small scale. In archaic times they could paint very well on a large scale, as the frescoes testify which still survive on the walls of their tombs. Then again it may be argued that having acquired, by means of their skill in bronze-work, a success which had extended even to Greece, they would naturally not care to profit by the example of the Greek vases further than was suitable for their own special craft. For example, on the Greek vases the finest drawing occurs on the circular kylikes, where the curving surfaces of the exterior present the greatest possible difficulties for the draughtsman. The best of the Greek vase-painters revelled in covering these surfaces with drawings of singular beauty. Whether an Etruscan would have ever succeeded in translating drawing of that kind to a bronze vase of the same shape is a question we need not discuss. On the other hand, these Greek kylikes have in the interior a circular space which contains a drawing of one or more figures. This was exactly what the Etruscan required for his circular bronze mirrors, and it is here that a comparison ought to be made between him and the Greek vase-painter, each on his own ground. I do not say that the result would indicate a very extensive indebtedness of the Etruscans to the Greeks, but it would confirm the view just set forth that they had in their own way profited by the vase-painting of the Greeks.

Here are two of their archaic mirrors with incised designs; the one (Fig. 12) is a youth, with widespread wings to his shoulders and wings to his shoes, moving with great strides, and carrying a lyre in one hand. One might say, here is instance of pure Greek drawing, so finely conceived is this youthful figure, so essentially Greek his action of holding up a flower. His body outlined against the background of the spreading wings, and these wings elaborately delineated as a foil to the simple lines of the body, the face of a large, full type—these are characteristics singularly Greek. Yet the drawing is Etruscan. For instance, one cannot imagine a Greek leaving out the lines which should have indicated the bones of the chest, and indeed almost the whole of the inner markings proper to a figure in this movement. Yet these lines have been purposely omitted for the sake

of a particular effect of contrast with the wings. Again, one cannot believe that a Greek would ever have reconciled himself to so specially decorative a treatment of the wings, whereas that is just one of those things that fit in with the tendency towards exaggeration which we saw in the Etruscan statuettes. The movement of the figure, the spreading of the wings, and the winged shoes would be suitable for the Greek hero Perseus, such as



FIG. 12.—*Etruscan Mirror. British Museum.*

we see him on archaic Greek vases, and it is possible that so far the figure has been based on Perseus. But apart from the identification of the figure on the mirror, I think we have already seen enough to recognise in it a striking combination of the influence of Greek drawing and Etruscan individuality.

On the other mirror (Fig. 13), the central figure is again one of those much-winged beings of archaic art—Greek as well as Etruscan. The peculiarity in this instance is that the wings spring from her waist and not

from the shoulders, which is perhaps just as natural, and may be regarded as a variant on those archaic Greek figures where the wings spring from the chest. The wings on her shoes are much exaggerated in size. Equally exaggerated is the action of holding out the skirt with the right hand, and



FIG. 13.—Archaic Etruscan Mirror. British Museum.

yet the series of long narrow folds formed thereby is quite attractive in its way. It is a curious action, that of the left hand raised over the shoulder to take hold of, or receive, something which the boy behind her appears to hold up. It is curious, because of its representing an action still going on, in contrast to the completed action shown in the holding of the skirt, the position of the wings, and the general attitude of the figure. I have

spoken of a boy standing behind her. It is, however, possible that this and the other figure in front are not boys, but men represented on a diminutive scale, as was usual, among the Greeks at least, when they wished to indicate mortals in presence of a deity. Of that there is an abundance of examples on the Greek reliefs, and this is the more likely to be the true interpretation because the raising of the arms of the two diminutive figures is peculiarly the action of adorantes or suppliants. The myrtle branch which one of them holds is also appropriate to a suppliant. The central figure would then be a goddess, and as such a being of commanding stature. The conception is quite in accord with the religious feelings of the Greeks, and no doubt it was from them that the Etruscan artist got his inspiration. Figures bearing a strong general resemblance both to the goddess and to the suppliants are to be found on contemporary Greek vases. But on the vases there is always an entire absence of that element of exaggeration which we associate with the individuality of the Etruscans, and find in the mirror before us. The Etruscans took a special pride in their shoes. If they wore nothing else they had always their shoes on, in contrast to the bare-footedness which the Greeks loved. The two suppliants wear the usual pointed shoes and nothing else. I suppose we may take it as a mere slip of the engraver that there is no sign of drapery on the body of the goddess. We cannot suppose that her dress begins only at the waist, nor that the upper part of it had been omitted for the sake of some effect of contrast between nude and draped forms. Or if that was the case, then the idea was certainly not borrowed from the Greeks.

It is very exceptional to find a bronze mirror with a relief sculptured in the back, as in Fig. 14, instead of the usual incised design. Possibly the idea had been to combine on the mirror itself the relief which more properly belonged to the case. A Greek would hardly have thought of such a thing. Again, the subject in this instance is clearly derived from the well-known Greek conception of Peleus carrying off Thetis. But the Etruscan artist has changed Peleus into Heracles and inscribed the name of Heracles beside him. But apart from this licence, we must allow that he runs the archaic Greek sculptors very close in his treatment of bas-relief as suitable to a small bronze mirror, with its flatness of surfaces and rich flow of lines.

As early as the seventh century B.C. the Etruscans were celebrated for their work in terra-cotta.¹ Even in Rome the old temples were full of such works by them, and when in the course of time the Romans lost taste for these simple archaic terra-cotta statues, they did not escape the rebuke of Cato,² who told them that they might well be content with what had pleased their ancestors. On the outsides of the temples were cornices richly decorated with antefixæ modelled in terra-cotta, such as may be seen among the remains of an archaic Tuscan temple in the Museum. The pediments were surmounted by figures or groups, as was the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol with its chariot of four horses raised on the highest point. That was the famous terra-cotta quadriga which the Romans had captured at Veii at the close of their ten years' siege.

In Greece there was in early times a similar centre of terra-cotta sculpture in the town of Corinth. The Corinthians were an enterprising as well as an artistic people. Their enterprise called their ships westward along the Gulf of Corinth. They planted a colony in Corfu, and they were concerned in the early settlements of Greeks as far west as Sicily and Magna Græcia. It is easy to imagine that their intercourse had extended also to Etruria. But there is no need to imagine this if we accept as a fact the ancient tradition that in the seventh century B.C. certain artist modellers in terra-cotta from Corinth had settled among the Etruscans, and had there introduced their art (Pliny, xxxv. 152). There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this tradition, or to assume that it had been invented by the Greeks as a sort of claim of superiority or precedence on their part over the Etruscans, because the story is not told primarily in connection with these artists. They only come in incidentally as having accompanied in his exile from Corinth Damaratos from whom descended Tarquin, the King of Rome. Artists do not usually expatriate themselves among barbarians. When they leave their home they look forward to some favourable opportunity of cultivating their art and prospering in it, and on that principle we may fairly suppose that these Corinthian workers in terra-cotta had been aware before they started that in Etruria they would find their particular branch of art already being practised and received with favour.

¹ Pliny, xxxv. 157, "Elaboratam hanc artem Italiae et maxime Etruriae."

² Livy, xxxiv. 4, 4.



FIG. 14.—*Bronze Etruscan Mirror with relief: Heracles carrying off a Woman.*
Archaic—Sixth Century B.C. British Museum.

In relating this tradition of the Corinthian artists, Pliny adds that in the opinion of some the art of modelling had been practised long before that time in the island of Samos, which lies close to the western coast of Asia Minor. At present there is every reason to accept this ancient belief as well founded. Every year brings fresh evidence in its favour.

We cannot any longer overlook a belief prevalent among the Etruscans themselves that their ancestors had originally come from Asia Minor. In support of that belief we may adduce this strong bent of theirs towards sculpture in terra-cotta. But the most we can be quite confident about is that in early historical times Corinth had stood in close relationship with Samos and Asia Minor in the East and with Etruria in the West, that Corinth had learned much of the art of working in terra-cotta from Asia Minor, and had passed this knowledge on to the Etruscans. For the present it must remain only a possibility that the artistic instincts of the Etruscans had come to them from an original community of race with the Greeks of Asia Minor, and that the aptness with which in later times they helped themselves to all they wanted from the art of Greece proper, was due also to that same community of origin. I think this is the view which will more and more assert itself in regard to the Etruscans as an artistic people.

Towards the end of the seventh century B.C. the history of Asia Minor is fascinating in the highest degree. New forms of verse and song burst into being. The arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture were never richer or more varied. How intense had been the artistic activity of these times may be gathered from the splendid poetic remains of Archilochus, Sappho, Alcæus, to take only the best names. The discoveries of recent years are beginning to enable us to realise what we had only heard of in tradition, that the first great home of Greek painting had been in Asia Minor. In sculpture of the archaic period we are fortunately rich, and in architecture we can already judge—for example, from the remains of the archaic temple at Ephesus—how beautifully varied and luxuriant had been the details of the old Ionic temples in their original home. How different those columns with their sculptured bases, their capitals varying as if no two ought to be strictly alike, their elaborately carved neckings, and in short the apparently interminable variety of details under a general similarity of aspect—how different all

this opulence of forms from the Ionic temples of Greece proper with their precision of details and their passionate search after an established rule as to what was the most beautiful. In vase-painting, where so much of the charm depended on refinements of drawing and so little comparatively on grandeur of conception or splendour of effect, it is remarkable that in Asia Minor as yet hardly a trace of that art has been discovered. Compare with this the fact that most of the great painters from Polygnotos to Apelles were natives of Asia Minor, and largely practised their art there.

On comparing the oratory of the Athenians with that of Asia Minor, Quintilian, one of the most observant of Roman writers in matters of Art, contrasts the simplicity and politeness of the Athenians with the extravagance of the Asian orators, as he calls them. Some were of opinion, he says, that the inflated redundant style of speaking common among these latter was due to the non-Greek element in the population.

In their inscriptions the Etruscans employed the Greek alphabet, and apparently had never used any other. They must have known much more of the Greek language than its alphabet, because in the very large series of bronze mirrors and engraved gems which they have left us, we constantly come upon scenes from Greek mythology which could hardly have been intelligible to them without a fair knowledge of Greek literature. We cannot well suppose that they knew these myths solely from Greek works of art, say from the painted vases, because in that case one would expect them to merely copy what they saw. But this is not the case. On the mirrors they constantly inscribe the names of the figures, and it is noticeable that these names, though written in Greek characters, do not present a pure Greek form. They more nearly resemble the Latin, as for instance, Menerfa, which is equal to Minerva, instead of Athenè the Greek name of the goddess. The Greek Bellerophon becomes Melerpanta, and so on in almost innumerable examples. Surely this debasing of Greek names, if we may call it so, is itself proof that the Etruscans had been acquainted with Greek myths and legends long before these myths and legends had reached them under artistic forms. One might be justified in going so far as to say that the absence of Etruscan writing, except in the inscriptions, which is so remarkable a phenomenon in a people renowned for their art and their civilisation

generally, could be accounted for by assuming that the literature ordinarily current among them had been Greek.

I have only attempted to illustrate in a general way the differences between the Etruscans and the Greeks from an artistic point of view. But it will be found that the descendants of those old Etruscans displayed much the same artistic spirit when many centuries later they formed the famous Tuscan schools of painting and sculpture.

III

Statuettes of the Age of Polycleitos and Myron

THERE was a saying among the ancient Greeks that certain of their artists had represented men as they ought to be, others as they were, and some worse than they were. The saying was applied to sculptors, painters, and poets alike. It was not a mere passing observation which from its epigrammatic form had caught the public ear, for we find no less a writer than Aristotle employing it on several occasions. But what concerns us for the moment is that the Roman writer Quintilian seems to have had this formula in his mind when speaking of the sculptor Polycleitos. He says: “Polycleitos surpassed the other sculptors in careful study and in gracefulness, but although in general he bears off the palm, yet it is thought that he had one defect, that of not being able to give gravity or importance to his figures. For just as he added grace and charm to the human form, so also in his figures of deities he seems to have failed in attaining the full measure of their grandeur. He is even said to have avoided figures of mature age and dignity, not daring to go beyond beardless youth. It is said that Lysippos and Praxiteles approached most nearly to the truth of nature.”

From other ancient sources we know that one of the services of Polycleitos was that he had worked out for the use of sculptors a set of rules, which the Greeks called a canon, for the construction of the human figure. But a set of rules or system of proportions can only be of use to artists if it is based on a wide generalisation and on a multitude of observations and measurements of men as they are. If that was the method employed by Polycleitos, we can understand how critics came to speak of him as having made men better than they were, or as having gone beyond the exact truth of nature.

A characteristic of almost every one of his statues was, we read in an ancient writer, that it stood resting its weight on one leg, as in the Diadumenos for example (*uno crure insistere*). At first sight this does not seem any great innovation, because among bronze statuettes older



FIG. 15.—Marble Statue. Diadumenos of Vaison. British Museum.



FIG. 16.—Marble Statue. Diadumenos Farnese. British Museum.

than his time we occasionally find a close approach to this attitude. I think that the true significance of his innovation can only be fully realised when, taking as an illustration of it the Diadumenos, we observe how, by means of the raised arms, the whole figure is thrown into a momentary poise which at once arrests the attention.

Of the Diadumenos, or youth binding round his hair a diadem won

in athletic games, several ancient copies exist in marble. But the one which is generally accepted as most true to the original of Polycleitos—which was of bronze—is a marble statue in the British Museum found at Vaison in France, and not pretending to be other than a copy made in Roman times (Fig. 15). Lately another marble statue has been obtained in excavations in Delos which, from its close resemblance to our Vaison figure, has gone some way in confirming the opinion that this type of a young athlete really represents the original Diadumenos.

But why should a youth who has just gained one of the greatest prizes of life, and had been cheered like Ladas on an English racecourse—why should he be of so sad a mien? Was it this expression of countenance which Pliny had in his mind when he described the Diadumenos as a gentle youth, in contrast to the Doryphoros as a manly boy? It may have been so.

We have in the Museum another marble statue of a Diadumenos which differs from the rest in some important respects (Fig. 16). The action of raising both arms to fasten the diadem, the inclination of the head and the throwing of the weight of the body on the right leg are the same as in the others. But the type of face is quite different. The expression is that of pride or self-satisfaction, as became the winner of a great prize. The corners of the mouth, instead of being turned down as in melancholy, are turned up in joy. The left leg, instead of being thrown back like the others, as in a deferential attitude, is put forward proudly. Altogether, he answers to what we expect in a young athlete who has won one of the great prizes of life.

It is impossible to reconcile this statue with the others; both types cannot be traced to Polycleitos. And as the one just described, the Farnese Diadumenos, as it is called, stands alone, while the other type, that of the Vaison statue, exists in a number of ancient replicas, it has been argued that the Vaison statue, with its kindred, should be taken as representing the original of Polycleitos, and the Farnese statue referred to some other sculptor. We know, for instance, that Pheidias had made a statue of a Diadumenos, but it is not pretended that his hand is discoverable in the Farnese figure, though we cannot altogether deny that under its very poor execution there may lie a blundered survival of his statue. Nor does the Farnese figure answer in any way to what we know

of Praxiteles, who, on doubtful authority, is stated to have made a Diadumenos, or of Lysippus of whom it is known that he had taken the canon of Polycleitos as the basis of a new system of proportions.

The number of replicas of the Vaison type counts for much in favour of tracing it to a famous original. Meantime, I will call attention to the statue of an Amazon by Polycleitos. The story goes (Pliny, xxxiv. 53)



FIG. 17.—Marble Head of Amazon. British Museum.

that in a competition among sculptors for a statue of an Amazon to be placed in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, it was arranged that the decision should be left to the competing artists on the principle that each was to select the statue next best to his own. The result was that Polycleitos came out first, Pheidias next, Cresilas third.

In some of the existing Amazon statues the expression of melancholy is explained by a wound visible in her side, but others, which have no wound,

are similarly sad of countenance (Fig. 17). We are told that Cresilas, one of the competing sculptors, had made his Amazon wounded, and possibly those of the statues which exhibit a wound should be assigned to him. But, so far as Polycleitos is concerned, the question is, Was this pathetic expression to be explained apart from any sense of pain? The heads of the Diadumenos, especially one recently acquired by the Museum, seem to say yes. It will, I think, be allowed that the period of life between boyhood and manhood has no more marked characteristic than seriousness and grave demeanour; and that the observation of this had not escaped artists of the time of Polycleitos may be seen in the frieze of the Parthenon with its lines of young horsemen serious of face, grave and respectful of bearing. It was this period of youth that Polycleitos chose as his special field of sculpture; and we should not, therefore, find it strange that the faces of his statues are usually charged with an expression approaching to sadness.

The other type of "a manly boy," as represented in the Doryphoros, may be judged from the marble copies of that statue which have survived, especially the one in Naples. The features and the shape of the head do not differ much from those of the statues we have just been considering, but the expression of the face is not in any particular degree sad. The head is planted firmly on the neck instead of being bent bashfully to the side, and the glance is nearly straight forward. It will be allowed that these characteristics were rightly described by ancient writers as manly. It seems to me probable that the ancient copyist, in reproducing the heads of Polycleitos, had been more faithful than in the bodily forms, just because of the peculiar expression by which they were recognisable. But I do not feel the same confidence as to their fidelity in reproducing the bodily forms and proportions. It is no doubt true that the measurements of the Diadumenos and the Doryphoros, with their replicas, work out in a fairly satisfactory manner, whether we take the foot, the palm, or the digit as the unit of measurement, and, as Polycleitos is said by a not very authoritative writer to have employed the digit as his unit, this result has sometimes been cited as tending to prove that the proportions of these statues are true to his original, and embody his canon. It is unfortunate that the system of proportions handed down by Vitruvius, and worked out by Leonardo da Vinci, is stated to have been in use by



FIG. 18.—Bronze Statuette. *Hermes*. British Museum.

Lysippos and other sculptors, as well as by Polycleitos, which, of course, would be a flat contradiction of the statement that Lysippos had fundamentally changed the canon of Polycleitos. So far as I have seen, however, the Vitruvian system yields a type of figure which seems to correspond better with the sculptures of the frieze of the Parthenon—which were contemporary with Polycleitos—than with the Græco-Roman copies of the *Doryphoros*.

I have endeavoured to make the discussion of the style of Polycleitos as brief as possible, in view of the fact that we have at best only a very limited number of bronze statuettes that can be associated with him. We begin with one which in its proportions and attitude obviously ranges with the copies of the *Diadumenos* and *Doryphoros*. It is a figure of *Hermes*, found in France, and now in the British Museum (Fig. 18). Round its neck is a loose golden torc, which apparently had been added by a Gaulish owner. In the right hand is a purse, one of the symbols of *Hermes* as god of merchandise. From the left shoulder hangs a chlamys, which, though it is modern, has been correctly restored from other specimens. It is not claimed that Polycleitos had ever made a statue of *Hermes* of this or any other type. But it has been argued that this statuette is more or less true to his canon; and certainly if the marble statues we have been discussing reproduce that canon, there can be no hesitation in including our bronze in the same category. There is the same short body and long legs of the Lysippos pattern, while the head, both in its pose and shape, has retained much of Polycleitos, as also the attitude of standing with the weight of the body resting on the right leg, and the left foot thrown back.

Let us now notice a bronze statuette in the British Museum (Fig. 19), which seems to me nearer the ideal of Polycleitos than any of these figures we have been considering. The figure rests on the left leg instead of the right, while the right foot, thrown back a little, is planted with the sole full on the ground, not merely with the toes touching the ground as in the *Diadumeni* and the *Doryphori*. Correspondingly, the head is inclined towards the spectator's right. This bronze is no late copy like the last, but a true Greek work of the date to which we are assigning it, and in any case is one of the finest Greek bronzes we possess. I am endeavouring to give prominence to this figure, because among the vast number of statuettes

in our Museum it is almost unique in the closeness with which it approaches the youths of the Parthenon frieze in its proportions, in the inclination of the head and the rendering of bodily forms, and because I am

inclined to look rather to the Parthenon than to Græco-Roman copies for the truest analogies to Polycleitos.



FIG. 19.—Greek Bronze.
British Museum.

in their observation of nature, they yet at times allowed themselves a freedom which strikes us as peculiar. For instance, they would on occasion give a lioness the mane of a lion, or a hind the antlers of a stag. Their principle was that to represent a thing which *seems* probable, though it may be impossible in fact, is a lesser error than to represent a thing which

It is possible that among our bronzes there are some which may yet be traced back to the great sculptor Myron, the fellow-pupil of Polycleitos. For the present, however, we have to be content with the little we do know of him. We are told that in his statues he gave more attention than any one of his time to a truthful representation of external details, caring little for the expression of character. In his statues of athletes his first aim was a telling and effective composition, with greater variety of action than Polycleitos allowed himself, but apparently with less refinement. It was Myron who first concentrated upon single statues the variety of movement which in older art was spread over many figures. His philosophy of life was to see the greatest possible display of action in one figure, and directed to one purpose.

We must remember that great as was the exactitude of Greek sculptors

seems improbable, however true it may be to fact. That is a principle of art laid down by Aristotle, and one of his instances is that of the hind with stag's antlers, which seems likely enough but is not true.



FIG. 20.—*Bronze Marsyas.* British Museum.

We are more fortunate in possessing a bronze figure of the Satyr Marsyas (Fig. 20), which, to some extent, may fairly be traced back to Myron. The style is doubtless much later. It cannot in fact be earlier than the

third or at most the fourth century B.C. There was therefore between our bronze and Myron an interval of two centuries or more, during which interval the representation of Satyrs in sculpture and every other form of Greek art was multitudinous. Nevertheless it is more than probable that the artistic motive of our bronze was originally Myron's. In the ancient list of his works mention is made of a group of the Satyr Marsyas and the goddess Athénè. Marsyas was there in the act of starting back in amazement when Athénè threw to the ground the flutes on which she had been trying to play. One or two ancient sketches of this group exist, and, though poor enough, they are sufficient to identify the attitude of Marsyas. Precisely the same attitude occurs in a fine marble statue of Marsyas in the Lateran Museum at Rome, which is accepted as a copy from Myron, and here we have it again in a slightly modified form in our bronze. It is an attitude which seems to me to be almost a challenge to Polycleitos and his Diadumenos, as much as to say, "If you wish the arms of a statue to be raised, raise them under some strong impulse like this, and not merely to fasten a diadem."

In our bronze the left hand is spread open with the fingers extended, as is usual in the expression of alarm. One would have expected the same in the right hand, but this is not the case. The right hand is merely thrown up to the head as if more in surprise than alarm. The strongly marked treatment of the beard and hair must be taken as illustrative of a particular period of art. In the sculptures of Pergamon, which belong to the second century B.C., we find the same rendering of the hair in rough unkempt masses. But we can trace much farther back the desire of Greek sculptors to obtain by means of a rough treatment of the hair an effective contrast to the smoothness of the face. We see it in the Hermes of Praxiteles. I do not suggest that something of the same kind may be traced even farther back, to Myron himself. Yet it is recorded of him by an ancient writer that with all his innovations in sculpture he had left the rendering of the hair just as it had been in "rude antiquity." I do not believe that this expression of "rude antiquity" can apply to our bronze. Still this expression of Pliny's requires some explanation.

In the myth of Marsyas and Athénè which Myron chose for his group the issue was of a milder description. Marsyas suffered nothing more

than alarm at the rage of the goddess when she threw the flutes to the ground. In this action of alarm Myron found a congenial motive. It provided him with an opportunity of displaying powerful action extending over the whole of the figure, yet concentrated upon one instantaneous impulse. This is very strikingly rendered in the Lateran statue, where the whole figure is strained violently backward by the sight of something on the ground. In our bronze the action is rather as if Marsyas had come running forward to pick up the flutes and had been suddenly arrested by a movement of Athenè. The sculptor was perfectly entitled to take that view, but it is unlikely that Myron had done so; from which we may conclude that our figure is not a direct copy but a later variant of his Marsyas, and only so far interesting to us on the present occasion.

IV

Statuettes of the Age of Pheidias

WHEN we come to the great age of Greek sculpture, it is true that as regards Pheidias himself we are so far fortunate as to possess the sculptures of the Parthenon. But incomparable as they are in illustrating the splendour of his genius in a series of compositions which have had no equal even in point of extent in the history of sculpture, there are times when one turns with longing and regret to the records of his isolated statues. We read and re-read the ancient descriptions of the chryselephantine statues of Zeus in the temple at Olympia and of Athenè in the Parthenon.

We rejoice when, in digging foundations for a house in Athens or Patras, a marble copy of the Athenè Parthenos comes to light (Fig. 21). We rejoice, because, with all the nudeness and imperfections of these copies, they still preserve something of the general effect of the original.

Among our bronze statuettes there is one that deserves attention from its relationship to the Athenè Parthenos (Fig. 22). Let me first notice certain differences of detail. The pose of the figure has been changed from the right to the left foot. The left hand may have rested on the edge of a shield as in the Parthenos. We cannot be certain. The right arm has been raised, and undoubtedly the hand has rested on a spear held upright. That is a distinct divergence from the Parthenos, where, as we have seen, the right hand holds out a Victory. In the dress the only difference is that the *ægis* is worn obliquely on the breast and not square across. But in the fragment which we possess of the Athenè from the west pediment of the Parthenon, the *ægis* is worn in the same oblique fashion. So that the idea was familiar to Pheidias, though he did not choose to employ it on his chryselephantine statue. The helmet

is correct in having three crests, and in showing the middle one supported on a sphinx. But the side crests have no Pegasi or gryphons connected with them.

In trying to account for these differences of detail we must not forget



FIG. 21.—Marble *Athenè Parthenos*.
Athens.



FIG. 22.
Athenè Parthenos. Bronze Statuette.
British Museum.

that they are each and all perfectly consistent with the time and manner of Pheidias. They are not to be classed with those capricious changes in the aspect of Athena which occur in late Greek art. In my judgment the whole statuette is as true to the style of Pheidias as could be expected of so minute a figure.

We are accustomed to think of Pheidias as a sculptor of colossal statues of gold and ivory, or of great compositions in marble brightened by colour and by accessories of metal. We seldom associate him with sculpture in bronze, though, in point of fact, a bronze statue in the atmosphere of Greece would have been resplendent enough to range even with figures of gold.

As regards his famous Athenè Promachos on the Acropolis of Athens, we are told by an ancient writer, Pausanias (i. 28, 2), that this statue had been erected as a monument of the victory over the Persians at Marathon, that the point of her spear and the crest of her helmet could be seen from ships approaching Athens from Cape Sunium, and that the reliefs on her shield, representing a battle between Centaurs and Lapiths, were a subsequent addition by a metal-chaser named Mys in the next century after Pheidias. On ancient coins representing the Acropolis of Athens (*B.M. Catalogue*, Attica, pl. 19, fig. 7) we see a colossal statue of Athenè standing on a spot where there is still visible on the rock of the Acropolis a cutting which had been made for the base of just such a statue. From the coins, it appears that the figure had stood with one foot advanced and the right arm raised in the act of hurling a spear. In this attitude the figure recalls the ancient and sacred image of Athenè known as the Palladion, and probably the intention of Pheidias was to retain this familiar attitude while changing the artistic treatment of the whole figure in accordance with the spirit of his own age. The title of Athenè Promachos, which had been associated with the archaic image, would naturally be used also of the new statue. One of our bronze statuettes (Fig. 23) answers admirably to the conception of a Promachos or fighter in the vanguard. This statuette comes from Athens, and seems to be plainly a production of the best period of art and undoubtedly derived from the statue by Pheidias, as it seems to me.

Let us now examine the statuette more closely. The helmet has only one crest ; there is no ornament except the sphinx which supports the crest, and a sphinx in that position was apparently inseparable from the helmet of Athenè in the age of Pheidias, if, indeed, it was not invented by him. The Parthenos had three crests, but she was a stately show figure. The Promachos had to be warlike. As regards the *ægis* on her breast with the face of the Gorgon in the centre,

that is all in accordance with the age of Pheidias. It is only when we come to the drapery that we are struck with a peculiarity of treatment. The flat close-lying folds which are observed on the body and down the left side of the figure exhibit a distinct element of archaism, at variance with the perfect freedom of the Parthenon sculptures or of the copies of the Athenè Parthenos. On the other hand, the girdle of serpents is quite free in its treatment, and equally so is the face of the goddess. The question is how to reconcile this slight archaism with Pheidias. Before we say that this is impossible, there are several things to be taken into consideration. In the first place, we have as yet no authentic copy of any statue in bronze by him, and cannot say how he may have chosen to render his draperies while working in that material. But what is more to the point is that the bronze Promachos may have been a work of his early period when Greek sculpture was still in a measure under the influence of the archaic school in which he himself had been trained. The express statement of Pausanias (x. 10, 1) is, that the statue had been erected to commemorate the battle of Marathon, which was fought in 490 B.C. At that date Pheidias could only have been a boy, and as regards the sculpture of the time, we know how archaic it then was from a series of marble reliefs at Delphi, which have survived from a building erected there by the Athenians to celebrate the



FIG. 23.—Athenè Promachos. Greek Bronze.
British Museum.

glorious victory of Marathon, apparently soon after the event. We have, somehow, to account for the considerable interval of time which must have elapsed between the battle of 490 B.C. and the erection of the colossal bronze statue on the Acropolis. We know that ten years after the battle the Acropolis had been entirely destroyed by the Persians, so that whatever monument the Athenians may have set up there for their victory, if any, must have gone the way of all the rest in the general conflagration. During these ten years Pheidias was approaching towards manhood, and it is quite conceivable that amid the new adornment of the Acropolis, which commenced when the Persians had been finally discomfited, his rising genius had been recognised by his townsmen of Athens, and that the task had then been set him of producing the colossal *Athenè Promachos* in bronze. I am only suggesting what may well have happened. It was a number of years after that when the sculptures of the Parthenon were entrusted to him. But some such suggestion is necessary if our bronze statuette is, as I think, a copy of the colossal *Promachos*. As a young sculptor Pheidias may, like Raphael in his relations toward Perugino, have thrown into his work something of the archaic manner in which he had been trained. Or, at all events, his early training, still fresh in his mind, may have influenced him in retaining certain archaic elements which had been characteristic of the ancient type of *Athenè* which his statue was intended to supersede. We cannot ignore the express statement of Pausanias that his statue had been erected to commemorate the battle of Marathon. The best we can do in the circumstances is to ascertain the earliest possible date thereafter at which it could have been erected on the Acropolis. As we have seen, that date coincides with the early manhood of Pheidias.

The most famous in antiquity of all the works of Pheidias was his chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia. Unfortunately we have no copies of it, except on certain very rare coins of Elis, on one of which an attempt is made to give a view of the statue in profile (Fig. 24), in another, the head alone, also in profile.

It is not, perhaps, surprising that no other copies of the great statue exist. We must remember that though Olympia was a great show-place where sculptures by the greatest artists of Greece were to be seen in profusion, yet it was not an art centre. No sculptors were established

there, nor any of the minor artistic industries, such as the making of bronze statuettes. Sculptors came there to do only what had to be done on the spot. Bronze statues—and they were the most frequent—were brought ready to be set up. The only exception we hear of was the workshop which Pheidias had erected for the making of his chrys-elephantine statue, and it is to the honour of those who managed the



FIG. 24.—*Coin of Elis, representing the Zeus of Pheidias. From an Enlarged Drawing.*

town that this workshop was retained as a memorial of him for centuries. People went to Olympia to see the sights, to be present at the national games, to hear distinguished literary men read passages of their works, and perhaps to see Zeuxis, the successful painter, living up to his reputation. So that once every four years the little town was crowded. For the rest it was known chiefly to tourists or occasional worshippers. Certainly there was no school of art at Olympia in the whole course of its existence. Years ago the site was carefully excavated. Innumerable

bronze statuettes were found, but none of them had any relation to the celebrated sculptures of the place. They had all been brought by devotees from other towns or districts.

Let us now take the description of the statue as we know it from ancient literary sources in connection with the coin (Fig. 24), premising that on a small coin the size of a florin many details would necessarily be left out. The attitude of the Zeus was that of a god seated on his throne as you see him in the coin. Literally, his presence filled the temple. It was said he could not stand up without carrying the roof with him. The height of the temple was 68 feet to the top of the pediments, so that the figure itself may well have been nearly 40 feet. The face, hands, and wherever flesh appeared, were of ivory, the rest was of gold—the dress, in particular, being richly enamelled with figures and flowers in various colours. The beard and hair we suppose to have been of gold. The ivory would be tinted to soften its whiteness, except perhaps in the eyes, where the natural whiteness of the material may have been taken advantage of. The pupils were either of precious stones or of ebony. On the head was an olive wreath. The right hand held out a Victory, which, as we see on the coin (Fig. 24), holds a *tænia* or ribbon, extending from one hand to the other, as in the Victory on the hand of the *Athenè Parthenos*. On the coin the Victory appears with raised wings as if about to fly across the front of the god, that is, from right to left, which we know was the direction always associated with a good omen in the minds of the Greeks. In the left hand of the god was a sceptre, glittering with various metals and surmounted by an eagle. The coin omits the eagle, and of course can give no equivalent for the metal inlays. The sandals were of gold. As regards the himation worn by the god, ancient writers tell us that it was richly enamelled, but say nothing of how it was disposed on the figure. For that we must rely principally on the coin. There we see that the himation is disposed in the manner usual with Pheidias—as in the east frieze of the Parthenon and on a Madrid relief. That is to say, it is wrapped closely round the lower limbs, then passes over the left shoulder, leaving the whole of the right arm and breast bare. It will be seen that the end of the himation appears between the fore leg of the throne and the legs of the god. That is an artistic touch which occurs on some of the best Athenian reliefs, immediately



FIG. 25.—Zeus. Bronze found in Hungary. British Museum.

after the time of Pheidias—most probably it had been introduced by him.

The throne was enriched with gold, precious stones, ebony, and ivory, while, as regards the multitude of figures sculptured on it—on the top rail, on the sides, on the legs, the footstool, and the base of the statue,—to read of them almost paralyses the imagination. On the top of each of the two front legs of the throne, connecting them with the side rail above, was a group of a sphinx tearing the body of a Theban youth. On the coin this has been simplified into a sphinx alone, much as on the throne of Zeus on the Parthenon frieze. At a lower level apparently along the sides of the seat were Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobè. I suppose Apollo on one side slaying the sons, Artemis on the other slaying the daughters, each deity using bow and arrows.

The footstool rested on golden lions, and on it was sculptured a battle of Greeks and Amazons. Here the name of Pheidias, son of Charmides, was inscribed. On the base of the statue were sculptured, in a long comparatively narrow band, the deities of Olympos present at the birth of Aphroditè. In the centre of this assembly she (Aphroditè) was seen rising from the sea. At each side of the central group the deities were disposed in the order of their importance, so that the greatest of them were nearest the ends.

I do not attach any particular importance to a bronze statuette which we possess in the Museum (Fig. 25). It is far too hard and formal to convey any idea of the style of Pheidias as we know it in the Parthenon sculptures. The head is not like what we expect. It is much too conspicuous, with its staring wreath and profuse hair. We regret it the more readily because the head on one of the coins, to which I have referred, not only retains in its way the placidity of Pheidias, but also renders the wreath and the hair much as we think they had been. Our bronze is wrong also in having a thunderbolt in the left hand. In short, it cannot be a direct copy from the work of Pheidias. On the other hand, no one can deny that the model on which our statuette has been constructed was the Zeus of Olympia. In later Greek art there arose a tendency towards greater intensity of expression. As regards Zeus, people wanted a statue which should realise the passage of Homer: “When my head bows, all heads bow with it still.” The curious thing is that a number of late

Greek writers associated this passage with the Zeus of Pheidias, whereas it only applied to the sculpture of their own day, such as our bronze statuette. But notwithstanding these modifications, there remained always in the later figures of Zeus much of the original of Pheidias, and of this our bronze is an illustration, because both in the posture of the god and in the disposition of the drapery it is correct in a general way.

V

Statuettes of the Age of Praxiteles and Lysippos

AFTER the death of Pheidias some time elapsed before a new name of surpassing importance appeared among Greek sculptors. During this interval the art of Greece, unable to sustain the high idea of Pheidias, was preparing for a change. It was turning towards a greater perfection of technical skill with less imaginative power. The same tendency had arisen alike in poetry, painting, and sculpture.

This state of the artistic mind had been ripening some time in Greece when the sculptor Praxiteles came on the scene. An Athenian by birth and the son of a sculptor not unknown to fame, he seems to have readily divined that the best way to express in sculpture the ideas of his time was by means of isolated statues in which, with only very slight action or movement, he would be able to display his extraordinary skill in rendering the finest and subtlest forms of the body. His object was, at the same time, to represent the finer emotions such as only very slightly affect the bodily forms. Let us take as an example the marble statue of Hermes holding on his arm the infant god Dionysos, which was found a number of years ago at Olympia, on the spot where an ancient writer had seen it (Fig. 26). At various times since its discovery this statue has been thought to be not quite equal to the great name of Praxiteles, or that perhaps it had been a work of his earlier period when still under the influence of his father. Several things point in this latter direction. The massiveness of the torso of Hermes is not what we shall find in others of his statues such as the Sauroctonos, but in this respect reminds us more of his father's statue of Eirenè carrying the infant Plutos on her arm, which infant, again, is almost identical with the infant Dionysos on

the arm of Hermes. But these things notwithstanding, the statue is full of the subtlest observation of bodily forms which cannot, one would



FIG. 26.—*Hermes by Praxiteles. Olympia.*

think, be traced to any other than Praxiteles himself. Similarly, the motive or action of the Hermes is exactly of that very slight kind which we expect from that sculptor more than any other. Hermes, as we now

know, had held up in his right hand a bunch of grapes, and is watching its effect on the infant god of the vine. The drapery hanging on a tree stem, however beautifully executed, is only an accessory, serving as a



FIG. 27.—Marble Statue. *Apollo Sauroctonos*. *Louvre*.

foil to the delicate modelling of the bodily forms. And when we think of it, that was a great change from the treatment of drapery in the Parthenon sculptures, where the presence of drapery is never accidental, but always shares in the dignity and solemnity of the figure. Even in

the draped figures of Praxiteles as in the Muses of Mantinea, we see that he had created a new type which differs from that of the Parthenon in as-



FIG. 28.—*Apollo. From Thessaly. British Museum.*

much as it is a special study of a draped figure. Another point is the easy attitude of the Hermes, suggestive almost of indolence, or at all events of a happy nature. In others of the statues by Praxiteles, known



FIG. 29.—Bronze Statuette. *Aphrodité Pourtales.* British Museum.

to us from ancient copies, this ease of attitude is more strongly marked. But from this point of view the most interesting of his works is the statue of Apollo Sauroctonos (Fig. 27), known to us from several copies in marble, and from one, a large statuette in bronze in the Villa Albani, which is the more important because the original statue was in bronze. The god stands leaning idly, one hand stretched out to a tree, his attention being attracted slightly to a lizard running up the tree-stem. He may be intending to kill the lizard, as his name Sauroctonos implies, but the attitude hardly conveys any feeling on his part beyond that of curiosity. The motive merely gives occasion for a youthful figure standing in an attitude admirably conceived to display the beauties of bodily form under a passing, almost trivial, emotion.

It is interesting to compare this Apollo with a marble statue in Madrid which it is now agreed is to be traced back to Praxiteles. The Madrid statue represents Hypnos, the god of sleep, moving silently on his task of hushing mankind to rest. It is not only that the type of face is almost identical with that of the Apollo, though this counts for much because it is a very peculiar type, but in both statues we recognise at once that the aim of the sculptor had been to represent an action which must not be more than just perceptible. In the *Greek Anthology* (Appendix 277) there occurs a few lines of verse headed an *Ænigma on Sleep* to this effect : "Being neither a mortal nor an immortal, but having some semblance of both, I live neither the part of a man nor of a god, but am always coming new into life and again vanishing from the present, unseen to the eye, yet known of all men." We have there in words the evanescent character of Hypnos. The Greeks thought sleep a twin brother of death, and perhaps this relation of twinship was meant to suggest that same idea of a being differentiated from some one else only by the slightest touches. Effects of this kind, whether in art or nature, are usually called fascination, and probably no better word could be found to serve as a general characterisation of the work of Praxiteles than its fascination.

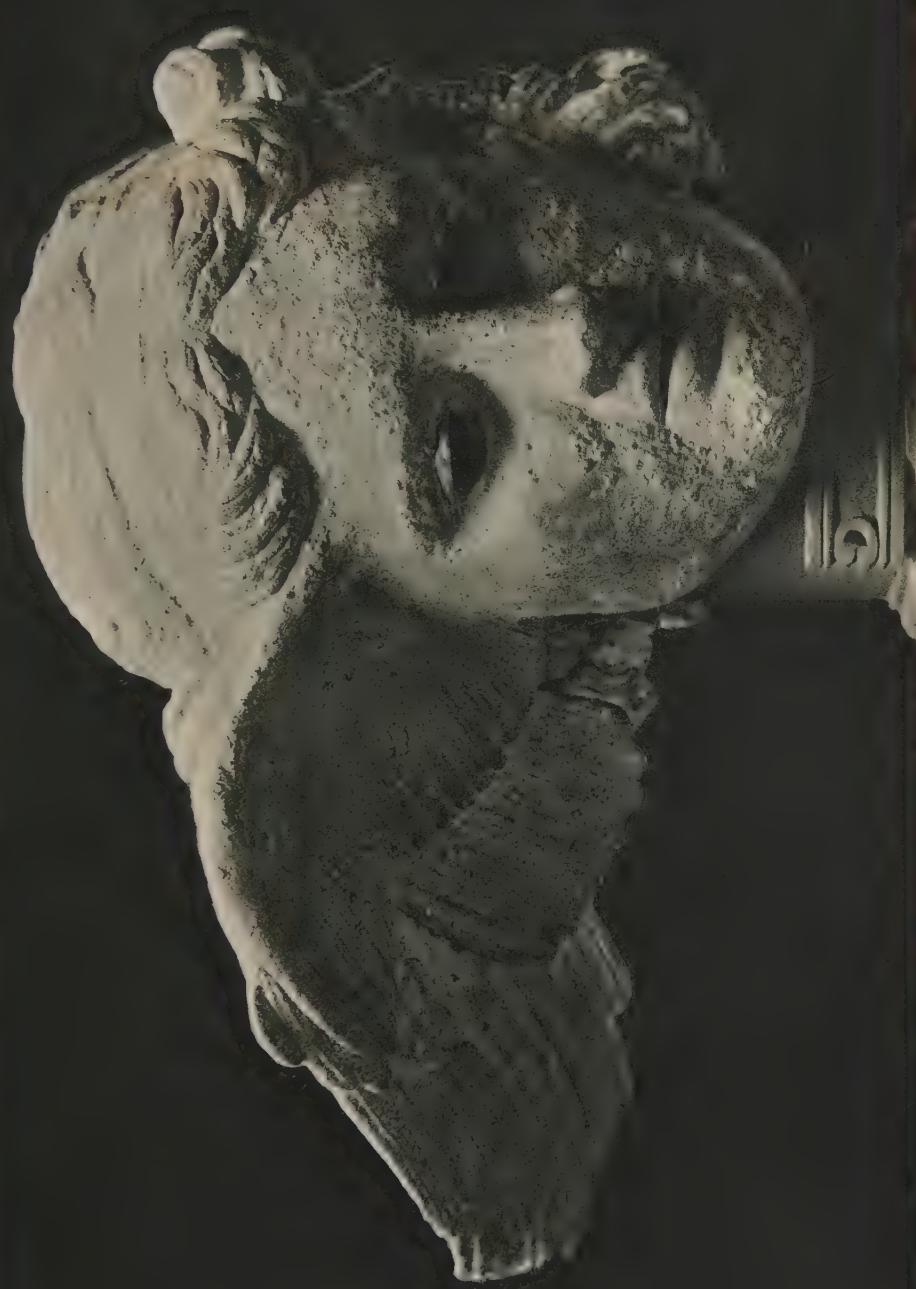
We have already spoken of the god of sleep and his silent seductive mission, in connection with the bronze head of Hypnos which is one of our treasures in the Museum (Plate II.). We need only now consider the head again for the sake of its striking likeness to the heads of the Apollo and of the statue in Madrid. The singular breadth of the face is a thing to

be noticed. It does not occur in the *Hermes*, where it would have been unsuitable, but from the other instances where it does occur we may fairly conclude that Praxiteles had created it for a special order of beings in whose nature, as he conceived, there existed a happy imperturbability. He was probably well aware of the fact that under sensations of pleasure the muscles of the face work sideways, and had sought to express this observation under a permanent type.

The indolent attitude of leaning sideways with the feet crossed or nearly so, as in the statues of *Apollo*, is carried farther in a bronze statuette of the same god from Thessaly which we possess (Fig. 28). But the type of face in our bronze is too formal and too little sensitive for Praxiteles. The rendering of the hair is too hard and the bodily forms too vague. It may be that these faults are due to the maker of the statuette and not to the original from which he was copying. We cannot believe that Praxiteles had ever himself carried this attitude of indolence so far.

Praxiteles owed his greatest fame to his works in marble, but an ancient writer (Pliny, xxxiv. 69), while admitting this, says that he nevertheless produced statues of the greatest beauty in bronze. We have in the Museum a bronze statuette of *Aphrodité* obviously Praxitelian in style (Fig. 29). So far as the attitude and accessories are concerned, there is a difference of opinion. In the list of bronze statues by Praxiteles, Pliny mentions a figure which he calls a *Pseliumenè*, that is to say, a woman or goddess wearing or putting on an armlet. It has been argued that this Greek epithet may mean also the putting on of a necklace, and that this is the action of our bronze. I doubt if this can be right. The action is more like a reminiscence of the *Diadumenos* of Polycleitos, both hands being raised as if just having finished the fastening of a diadem or ribbon round the head. In our bronze the movement of the arms is practically the same as in that statue, and we know from tradition that Praxiteles did modify the older type of a *Diadumenos* by Polycleitos. At all events it seems to me beyond question that our bronze is a Praxitelian variant of that statue adapted to a female figure. It will be noticed how strong is the resemblance between the head of the statuette and the head of *Hypnos* (Plate II.), especially in the very beautiful treatment of the hair with

Hypnos, God of Sleep. Early Greek Century, B.C.



its soft tresses carried back from the brow and bound in the simplest possible manner with a narrow fillet.

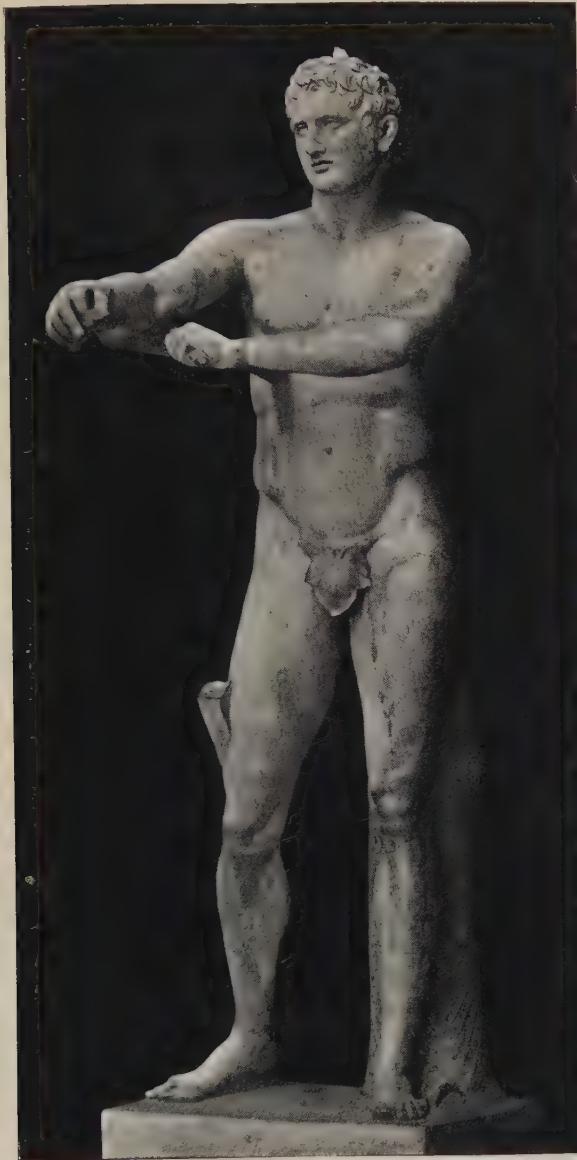


FIG. 30.—Marble Statue of an *Apoxyomenos*. *Vatican Museum.*

After Praxiteles a number of years elapsed before the next great sculptor, Lysippos, appeared on the scene. He had been exclusively a sculptor in bronze, and one would expect to find among the many bronzes of our

museums not a few specimens directly traceable to his influence, the more so as he had been productive to an extraordinary degree, and because his works were in demand far and wide. But there are difficulties. Take for instance the statue of a young athlete scraping his arm with a strigil, usually called an *Apoxyomenos* (Fig. 30). The original bronze statue had been carried off from Greece to Rome, and is said to have so captivated



FIG. 31.—Limestone Figure of Heracles. British Museum.

the young Tiberius that he had it removed to his palace, and only restored it to its public position because of the clamour of the populace. A beautiful marble copy of that statue is well known in the Vatican Museum. We are told expressly by Pliny that the bronze original was the work of Lysippos.

Then take a small limestone figure in the British Museum (Fig. 31), which, for all its roughness, is certainly a copy of the bronze statuette made

by Lysippos as a present, it is said, to his patron, Alexander the Great, who carried it about in his campaigns to decorate his table. In later Roman poets there is much romance as to the famous generals through whose hands that bronze had passed after the death of Alexander, and I need hardly add to the romance by stating that our rough copy of it comes from Babylonia, where the great Macedonian died. The subject of the statuette by Lysippos was a seated figure of Heracles, called, from its constant appearance on the table of Alexander, Epitrapezios. The sculptor of our limestone copy has inscribed his name on the plinth. His name is Diogenes. But I do not suggest that he was any relation of the Cynic philosopher whose interview with Alexander is more than ever familiar to us from Landseer's parody of the two dogs. The question is, does our statuette with all its roughness convey any fair impression of the original of Lysippos, and, if so, how is that impression to be reconciled with the very different style of the Apoxyomenos in the Vatican? It is conceivable that in the course of a long life Lysippos had begun his career under the dominating influence of Praxiteles, had gradually added more and more of action and animation to his statues, and had finally gone over to a preference for figures of the Heracles type in which muscular power was the ruling feature, the Apoxyomenos representing his earlier, the Heracles his later stage. To the later stage would belong his numerous statues of athletes, his portraits, and probably also the tendency towards statues of colossal size which appears in his Heracles at Tarentum, and was carried to an extreme in the Colossus of Rhodes by his pupil Chares.

In the Apoxyomenos we have the small head, the apparent increase of height, and a new system of proportions superseding the older system of greater massiveness in the torso, which Pliny tells us was characteristic of Lysippos. You have only to compare it with the Hermes of Praxiteles to see the difference, and yet I am convinced that in the general conception, and in the rendering of the details in the Apoxyomenos, Lysippos was largely indebted to Praxiteles. It must have been also in the spirit of Praxiteles that he chose as a subject for a statue Kairos or Opportunity—a statue which is described by ancient writers as having represented a boy or youth hastening along on tiptoe with wings to his heels, his hair rich and full over the brow, but shorn at the back to show that Opportunity, once

let slip, cannot be caught up again, in his right hand a razor, in allusion to a Greek proverb, as old as Homer, to the effect that the turn of things is often balanced on as fine an edge as that of a razor (*ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς*). We have no copy of that figure in the shape of statuary, but we have certain variations of it on engraved gems, and in a relief where he appears running hastily, having wings on his shoulders and heels, and holding out a pair of scales to indicate by how slight a turn of the balance great events may ensue. To my mind, this representation of Kairos, together with the literary descriptions of the statue, irresistibly recalls the Hypnos of Praxiteles. A statue of the "Fleeting Opportunity" would naturally start from such a figure as that of Hypnos, so much is there in common between the two thoughts of sleep with his silent movement and opportunity which waits on no one.

Critics have been puzzled by the fact that so good a judge of art as the Roman writer Quintilian classes Praxiteles and Lysippos as the two Greek sculptors who approached closest to the truth of nature. So far as Lysippos is concerned, this appears to be right. His list of portrait statues, his frequent choice of muscular types such as Heracles, Zeus, or Poseidon, and his minute attention to details, all seem to indicate a close observer of nature. But Praxiteles could not, it was supposed, be in the same boat. *He* made no statues of athletes. The only known portrait from his hand was a statue of Phryné at Delphi, and even it, there is reason to believe, had not been a portrait in a strict sense, but rather an ideal figure, which some people, as Pliny says, had identified as Phryné. A close observer of passing shades of character or of emotion, Praxiteles was, so far, rightly classed along with Lysippos as regards truth to nature, the one more in a spiritual, the other more in a physical sense.

Among the bronze statuettes, which it is usual to identify with the style of Lysippos, is a figure of Poseidon found at Dodona towards the end of the last century, and now in the British Museum (Fig. 32). In the statuette the god stands resting on one foot, and has held out in the left hand most probably a dolphin indicative of the sea, while his right hand has been raised to rest on a trident held vertically. The proportion of the short torso to long legs answers to the new canon which Lysippos introduced. According to that canon the head ought perhaps to have been smaller. But in art, as in poetry, the god of the sea was known for his massive



FIG. 32.—Bronze Statuette from Dodona (Paramythia). Poseidon. Ancient base.
British Museum.



FIG. 33.—*Bronze Statuette from Dodona (Paramythia). Youth pouring Libation.*
British Museum.





British Museum

Walter J. Edels. Ph. J.

Zeus, from Dodona.

head and abundance of hair. The sculptor could not change that type. Lysippos was famed above his contemporaries for minute finish down to the smallest details. Another ancient statuette could not be found where this is more admirably exemplified. The hair and beard are full of the most beautiful workmanship carried into the minutest details, while the powerful bodily forms are rendered with an extraordinary refinement extending to the observation of the finer muscles in the feet and even to a vein in the left arm. The animation he was said to have imparted to his statues (*animosa signa*) is conspicuous in the bronze.

From the same find at Dodona we have also a figure of Zeus, which may equally claim to belong to the school of Lysippos (Plate III.). Extremely remarkable are the intense expression of the face, and the minute finish of the masses of hair and beard. In the bodily forms the proportions are those of Lysippos, but there is a want of the finer modelling of details and the clearer distinction of the various parts of the body, so noticeable in the Poseidon. Lysippos is known to have produced several statues of Zeus, among them a Colossus at Tarentum, measuring in height over 60 feet. It is said that this statue had been so balanced that it could be moved by the hand, and yet could resist the force of storms, the explanation being that the sculptor had provided a column or support on the side opposite the usual weather quarter, leaving a slight space between the column and the figure to allow of yielding. Here we may add also Fig. 33 from the same find at Dodona, though as yet we have no evidence as to how Lysippos rendered his draperies, and cannot therefore be confident in associating this bronze with his style. Still more difficult is it to feel on quite safe ground in assigning to him or to his influence a very beautiful bronze in the British Museum given on Plate IV., representing a youthful heroic figure seated on a rock and looking eagerly downwards. The singular animation of the face answers to what we know of Lysippos, but the largeness and simplicity of style, displayed both in the bodily forms and in the drapery, are not quite what we are prepared to expect from him. So far as the bodily forms are concerned, we expect to see them more broken up by details. Therein, however, we may be wrong, and in any case our bronze, if it does not fully illustrate his style, is one of the finest existing examples of

Greek bronze-work at its ripest period. The figure is cast solid, and has been attached to a background of some sort. The eyes are inlaid with silver.

I will notice next one of the bronzes of Siris (Fig. 34), that is the name which for many years has attached to two bronze reliefs said to have been found near the river Siris in Southern Italy in 1820. It was in this locality that the memorable battle occurred in which Pyrrhus was signally defeated. The wish to connect everything beautiful or remarkable with some famous person produced the suggestion that these bronzes may have belonged to the armour worn by Pyrrhus on that day. The suggestion was enticing, and not much worse if so bad as many others. At all events we have the bronzes, and are concerned most with their beauty as examples of Greek relief. From a technical point of view, these bronzes are no less than marvellous as examples of repoussé work. The quality of the bronze must have been originally fine beyond all praise or comparison, to admit of being hammered up to the extraordinary extent which it reaches in the chest and faces of the Greek. In some points it has failed, and separate pieces have been made and attached in their place. Then, again, the minuteness with which the whole surface has afterwards been gone over is endless; most elaborate patterns have been incised on the shields; the beard has been worked with almost microscopic faithfulness, and yet with perfect freedom of touch; the minutest folds of the drapery have been followed from their origin to their final disappearance into some other larger fold, or into airy nothingness. These are facts which suit no Greek sculptor, of whose practice we know from ancient writers, better than Lysippos. He was famed for a combination of minute finish and a rigorous system of proportions. He was the most prominent sculptor at the time at which we should place these bronzes from other considerations, and without claiming him as the sculptor of them, we may yet fairly regard them as influenced by his manner, as in fact among the best evidence we possess of his special method of working.

We may pass on to a bronze equestrian statuette in Naples Museum, which appears to have been part of a group representing Alexander on horseback striking down at an enemy (Fig. 35). We know that after the battle at the Granicus, Lysippos was directed to



British Museum

Warren Evans 96.6

Kneeling Figure



FIG. 34.—Bronze Relief. Greek striking down an Amazon. Fourth Century B.C.
British Museum.

make a commemorative group of Alexander and those who were nearest him in the fight, in all, twenty-five figures, each a portrait. That



FIG. 35.—*Alexander the Great. Large Bronze Statuette. Naples Museum.*

group was erected in Macedonia, but subsequently was carried off by Metellus to Rome, and possibly the Naples bronze represents the central figure of that composition.

VI

Gaulish Bronzes

CERTAIN ancient writers attribute to the Gauls the invention of enamelling and niello on bronze and silver (Philostratus, *Imag.* i. 28, and Pliny, xxxiv. 162), and it is a fact that many specimens of bronze vases, fibulæ, and other objects have been found richly if sometimes rudely enamelled. The process was to groove out the patterns on the surface of the bronze. Into these grooves, forming generally floral patterns, a paste of various bright colours was inlaid, such as red, white, blue, and green. But it does not appear that this paste had been fused in the true sense of an enamel, that is to say until it took the form of glass, though the Greek writer who mentions this Gaulish invention expressly speaks of fusing the inlaid substance.

Let us begin with a bronze statuette in the British Museum found at Barking Hall, Suffolk (Fig. 36). It is about 2 feet high, and must have been a work of considerable difficulty, if we think of the elaborate extent with which the cuirass is decorated with patterns, inlaid partly in silver and partly in a sort of enamel, the leaves of the rosettes being alternately of enamel and silver. I take this figure first, because it seems to stand on the border between pure classic workmanship and native art. It has been described as a portrait of a Roman Emperor or an imperial personage of some sort ; but an insuperable obstacle to its being an imperial Roman is that the hair is bound by a simple ribbon or diadem, whereas the Roman emperors wore wreaths, usually of laurel, until a very late period, when they preferred rich gold diadems. Clearly the statuette cannot represent a Roman. On the other hand, nothing was more distinctive of a Greek king, from the time of Alexander the Great onwards, than a flat fillet or

ribbon worn exactly as on our statuette. That alone is conclusive evidence that the figure is either Alexander or one of his successors. The portraits



FIG. 36.—Bronze found at Barking Hall, Suffolk. British Museum.

of his successors are known from their coins, and we may fairly exclude them from the running. There remains, therefore, only Alexander himself. We have already spoken of certain portraits of Alexander by Lysippus.

One of the attitudes in which he was represented was, as we know, that of standing with one foot raised on a rock or such like, the head appearing to be turned a little sideways so as to conceal his natural defect of a crooked neck. In particular there was one in which he appeared with his face looking towards the heavens, as he was wont to look, says Plutarch, and turning his neck gently, so that some one on seeing a statue of him in this attitude wrote an epigram to this effect, that the bronze seemed to be looking towards the heavens and saying, "The earth is under my rule. You, Zeus, hold Olympos." Several other Greek epigrams exist to much the same purpose. It is known also that in that instance Alexander held a spear, necessarily in his right hand. In our statuette the raised right hand has obviously rested on a spear. These are facts enough to justify us in regarding it as a figure of Alexander derived from a famous original of Lysippos.

The face of our bronze is that of an ideal youth, yet the hair springs from the forehead somewhat in the manner characteristic of the portraits of Alexander. No objection can be taken to the cuirass and sandals. They are such as he might have worn, except for the rich enamel on the cuirass, and particularly the promiscuous way in which the patterns of rosettes are scattered all over it. We must acquit classical sculptors of any share in that.

The treatment of the hair seems at first sight purely classical, all the more so when we remember how frequently the existing Gaulish bronzes are characterised by rough shaggy hair, in keeping with the habits of the people. Yet when we examine the hair closely, in particular the loose way in which the diadem lies among it instead of being tightly strained round the head, we detect a want of intelligence which cannot be ascribed to a classical artist. It is best explained by assuming the sculptor to have been a Gaul or Briton making a careful copy from a Greek original as well as he could. In the flaps of the cuirass, as they fall over the raised thigh, there are one or two fine touches of movement which could only have been derived from a Greek original. The proportions of the figure are abnormally heavy, the torso being much too massive and the legs too short. It would be hard to find any parallel for that in classical art.

Yet, for all these shortcomings, we have in the Museum bronze

the finest existing specimen of Gaulish sculpture inspired by a Greek original.

We may take next a bronze in the British Museum, found in France in the department of the Rhone (Fig. 37). It is a figure of the youthful



FIG. 37.—Gaulish Statuette of Bacchus. British Museum.

Bacchus holding in his right hand a wine-cup. But the wine-cup or cantharus which he holds is not of the shape proper to Bacchus. It is, in fact, a small amphora. No classical artist could have ever made that mistake. The figure itself has obviously been studied from a Greek original. Yet it is throughout pervaded by a difference of artistic feeling, which it is easier to recognise than to define—a difference such as we perceive often in

literature between an excellent translation and the original. The face and disposition of the hair, together with the pose of the head, remind us of Praxiteles as we know him in the statue of Apollo Sauroctonus. The attitude might pass for Praxitelian. But the extreme softness of the bodily forms goes beyond anything with which we are acquainted from his hand, though it must be allowed that at present we know nothing of how he had rendered such figures as the youthful Bacchus. There must have been more effeminacy in them than in Hermes and Apollo.

Let us now take an example of a different kind (Fig. 38). The British Museum possesses a large bronze statuette, which was found near the Roman wall in Cumberland or Northumberland, it is uncertain which. The bronze is gilt and still looks almost like gold. It is a figure of Heracles, and since an altar inscribed to the Tyrian Heracles has been discovered in that neighbourhood, we may fairly assume that our bronze may have been made for some devotee of that particular deity. Now we know that some of the oldest coins struck in Gaul and Britain are obviously imitations of the more ancient coinage of the Greek island of Thasos, on which there occurs a figure of the Tyrian Heracles, not exactly identical with our bronze, but sufficiently like for identification.

The sculptor of our bronze was under no obligation to keep close to the type of Heracles on the coins of his day. He may easily have had access to more archaic types like the two vases by Calamis mentioned in Pliny (xxxiv. 47). In any case it is an archaic Greek element which predominates in our statuette. The girdle round the waist, with its three clasps fastened in front, corresponds perfectly to archaic bronze girdles in the British Museum. The short chiton, drawn tightly across the body and gathered in folds at the sides, was not worn by Heracles except in archaic Greek art of about the sixth century B.C. The short body of the figure, in striking contrast to the long massive legs, is obviously archaic. Equally so is the manner of standing with both feet flat on the ground. The way in which the lion's skin is worn, the head of the lion fitting like a cap on the head of Heracles, is archaic, but not exclusively so. It lasted on to later times, yet we may fairly rank it also with the other archaic elements of the figure. The lion's skin is twisted round the left arm like a piece of drapery instead of skin. That we must set down as a mistake. As regards the forcible action of the left hand with the fingers tightly com-



FIG. 38.—*Heracles*. Found in Cumberland. British Museum.

pressed, the only explanation I can find is from an archaic Etruscan bronze in the British Museum where Heracles grips with his left hand the tail of the lion's skin exactly in this manner. The right hand, which is raised, has held a club. The only non-archaic feature in our statuette is the face, which is strikingly of the type that came into Greek art at the time of Alexander the Great, and, as such, might have been familiar to Gaulish sculptors, on coins or otherwise.

For these reasons our statuette is peculiarly interesting. It shows how a phase of Greek art, which had been abandoned for centuries in Greece itself, had survived in specimens brought to Gaul or Britain, and had there appeared to native sculptors as a new light on their path, much as the archaic pre-Raphaelite painting of Italy appealed to our countrymen not so long ago. The statuette is cast solid, and in this respect may perhaps serve as a confirmation of what Pliny says, that the true art of casting in bronze had been lost before his time.

We have also in the British Museum a statuette of Mars from the Rhine-land which may fairly come within the scope of our present enquiry (Fig. 39). It represents the god in full panoply with nothing Celtic in his armour or costume. The model has been purely classical. But let us examine the figure. The face and hair are not Celtic in type, but equally they are non-classical in the roughness with which they are represented, reminding us in this respect of what is constantly found among Gaulish bronzes. The proportions are ungainly and inaccurate to a high degree, and yet there are not a few details which recall Greek art of a good period. For instance, the form and decoration of the helmet have been derived from the *Athenè Parthenos* of Pheidias in the main. The sphinx which has supported the crest was an invention of Pheidias. The two gryphons here attached to the sides of the helmet were placed by Pheidias on the upturned cheek-pieces of *Athenè's* helmet, and were there rendered in relief, not, as here, partly in the round. The visor, which in the *Athenè* retained its pure Greek form, is here converted into a mask, as if of a dead person, reminding us of a bronze helmet in the British Museum, found at Ribchester in Lancashire, which has a visor entirely in the form of a sepulchral mask. On the lower part of the visor of our statuette is a ram's head in relief on each side, which also is a not uncommon form of decoration on classical helmets. The two gryphons confronted on the

cuirass are obviously Greek in origin, as is also the small head of Medusa in silver on the breast. On the greaves, in front of each knee, is again a small head of Medusa in silver, the one completely defaced, the other still showing the features of the Gorgon. Among the Greeks these masks of Medusa were worn as charms against danger. We find them repeatedly on their bronze greaves, especially on those of the good period, as on the splendid bronze leg we possess in the British Museum. The greaves are laced down the back, and the laces inlaid with a reddish Celtic enamel. The flaps of the cuirass are inlaid with silver, as are also the eyes of the figure.

We must notice the way in which the chiton is rendered, where it is visible, hanging below the flaps of the cuirass. The chiton is made to open at each side, and to fall on each side in a double set of zigzag folds such as we call pteryges or wings when speaking of the chiton of Athenè. But the Greek chiton can only have these double zigzag folds on one side of the figure because the chiton is only open on one side. It is incredible that the sculptor of our bronze could ever have seen a Greek figure with a chiton thus open on both sides. More probably he had been struck by the singular charm which Greek artists constantly obtained from those zigzag folds in their draped figures, and had not recognised the fact that they were confined to the left side, still more that in a man's chiton they do not exist at all. That, of course, is ignorance, but it is ignorance coupled with artistic perception.

Heracles came nearest in the minds of the Gauls and Britons to what they conceived their Supreme Deity to be like. But in most cases they did not keep too close to the classical model, rather introducing variations suitable to their own ideas and circumstances. They called Heracles Ogmios, and we have in the Greek writer Lucian (*Heracles*) a description of a picture of that deity which may be taken as perhaps an extreme instance of the freedom the Celtic artists allowed themselves in adding to the Greek type. The Heracles or Ogmios which Lucian describes wore the usual lion's skin, held a club in his right hand, a bow in his left, with a quiver at his side. So far he is quite Greek. But he had the appearance of a man in extreme old age, wrinkled and worn. All round him in the picture was a crowd of human beings, each having fastened to his ear a fine gold chain, the other end of which was attached to the tongue



FIG. 39.—*Gaulish Statuette of Mars. British Museum.*

of Ogmios. Astonished at so singular a conception, Lucian inquired of an educated Gaul what might be the meaning of the picture,



FIG. 40.—Gaulish Heracles. Bronze Statuette found at Vienne in France.

and was told it was a representation of the power of eloquence to draw men.

But Lucian's picture of Ogmios is hardly more curious than a bronze

statuette found some years ago at Vienne in France (Fig. 40). It is a figure of Heracles of a good classical type, though with the usual differences of style, which, as I said before, are like the differences between a good translation and an original. What is startling is the ring of barrel-shaped objects which appears like a nimbus above the head of the figure. These curious objects are supported on a thin rod which rises behind the statuette. The meaning of them is still far from clear, notwithstanding the amount of attention bestowed on them by scholars versed in Celtic literature. It is much to be regretted that this is so, because these objects are certainly symbols of some kind which must have conveyed a definite meaning to the ancient Gauls. They cannot be merely capricious ornaments. In many cases we find among Gaulish sculptures a god having the symbol of a hammer or mallet, and it is not difficult to explain that deity in connection with the northern god Thor or the Greek Hephaistos. Applying this to the bronze statuette of Vienne, we could accept as hammers the five smaller things which radiate from the large cylinder. But the large cylinder itself must surely be something different. It is more like a barrel, and possibly that is what it was meant to be. Heracles as a wine-god would not have appeared particularly strange even to the Greeks. They were familiar with his habits. To the Gauls, in the wine-growing districts of France, he might easily have assumed the additional functions of a wine-god.

There is one thing yet which must not be overlooked. Among the Gaulish bronzes are many figures wearing the national costume, which consists of a thick buff coat wrapped closely round the body, overlapping down the front, and kept together by a girdle round the waist, to which we may add occasionally trousers of a chequered pattern. The question we have to consider is whether the Gaulish artists had themselves been the originators of this idea of representing their kinsmen in the garb in which they lived. That a people just emerging from barbarism could have had the faculty of creating an artistic type such as this of their own nationality is more than we are prepared to believe. The skill with which the costume is rendered in not a few instances has clearly been learned from classical sculpture, and, above all, we have to remember that one of the most striking features of later Greek art was the prominence given to figures of Gauls, carefully represented both in character



FIG. 41.—*Gaulish Chief. Bronze Statuette. British Museum.*

and costume. The old Celtic peoples had been a terror to the Greeks almost from the time of Homer. They swooped down on the rich cities of Asia Minor like Children of the Mist as they were. In Greece itself they got as far as Delphi under their leader Brennus early in the third century B.C. For nearly a century before then Rome had been trembling at the name of the Gauls. But from that time onward great battles became frequent. In the second century B.C. the King of Pergamos in Asia Minor defeated the Gauls in a decisive victory. He must needs erect on the Acropolis of Athens a monument of his success, and this, so far as we know, was the first occasion on which the nationality of the Gauls was represented on any great scale in Greek sculpture. The Emperors of Rome followed in a similar spirit, covering their triumphal arches and columns with endless expeditions against the Celts, battles, sieges, and all the horrors of war. So that among what survives of the sculpture of those days we find innumerable studies of the personal appearance of the Gauls, the feelings of despair with which they accepted defeat, and their sufferings when wounded. Probably the examples best known to you are the so-called "Dying Gladiator" in Rome, which is, in fact, a wounded Gaul, and the group of a Gaul slaying his wife rather than see her become a Roman captive. I mean the group known as Arria and Pætus in the Villa Ludovisi in Rome. Fig. 41 will serve as an example in bronze.

In the mirror of works such as these the Gauls saw themselves for the first time in an artistic sense. It was not necessary for them to create new types of themselves, even if in those days they had possessed enough imaginative power to do so. It is reported of an ancient Teuton who had gone to Rome on an embassy that, being shown a statue of an old shepherd leaning on his staff, and being asked what he would value it at, replied that he would not take him as a present even if he were alive. But a remark like this is not enough to condemn a whole nationality. You may overhear much the same any day. What we do know on the strength of the Carlisle bronze and not a few other works in sculpture is, that the peoples in Gaul and Britain were being familiarised, slowly perhaps, with Greek art even long before the Roman conquest.

In the sixth century B.C. a Greek colony had been established at Marseilles, whence it could command the trade of the Rhone valley. At

that time, and even before then, Greek merchants were finding their way by sea to the copper mines of Spain, and obtaining, directly or indirectly, tin from Cornwall. Greek colonists were gathered round the silver mines of Thrace and along the north shore of the Black Sea, especially in the neighbourhood of the Crimea, where the inhabitants, though known as Scythians, were a branch of the widely-spread Celtic race. From the tombs of Kertch we know to what extent the Greek settlers had imported beautiful works of Athenian art for exchange with the products of the rude Scythians, and from ancient literature we know how eagerly some of the chiefs of that race had applied themselves to Hellenic civilisation. In Central Europe there have been found from time to time valuable objects of archaic Greek art, such as the gold treasure of Vetersfelde, or the lovely helmet of Berru, with its ornamentation of the Mycenæan Age. I can only mention these things briefly, because all I wish to suggest is that centuries before the Roman conquest there had been going on among the Gauls and Britons a slow leavening of artistic taste by means of works of art imported from Greece.

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THE END

GREEK TERRACOTTA STATUETTES



A LADY OF CORINTH.

Brit. Mus. C. 7.

GREEK TERRACOTTA STATUETTES

BY
C. A. HUTTON

WITH A PREFACE BY A. S. MURRAY, LL.D.

KEEPER OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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“Why should little things be blamed?
Little things for grace are famed.
Love, the winged and the wild,
Love was once a little child.”

Trans. by J. P. ROGERS

Μὴ νεμέσα βαιοῖσι χάρις βαιοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ·
βαῖδες καὶ Παφίης ἐπλετο κοῦρος Ἐρως·
Anthol. Pal. ix. 784

PREFACE

IT may be said of a certain number of Greek terracottas that they do not need much explanation. If a statuette is charming in its expression, its pose, and its costume, that was about all it was meant to be. Or if we meet with a figure taken from common life, such as an old nurse with a child on her lap, and are amused by it, that again was about all it was meant to be. Only, what we admire through an acquired taste, the old Greeks for whom these things were made admired instinctively. The terracottas of that class reflected the daily life of the Greeks, refined upon just enough to gratify the average household tastes of the time. They do not call for much mythology, and in an artistic sense they are not very ambitious—far less so than the bronzes, for instance, or the painted vases. On the other hand, no one can thoroughly understand that simplest class of statuettes without a knowledge of the people for whom they were made, and of how it came about that the artistic tastes of the Greeks assumed different aspects in different centuries.

That is one instance where the classical learning and artistic discrimination of Miss Hutton come in usefully. Still more necessary is her aid if one desires to go further into the subject. For instance, it may not be difficult to distinguish a Tanagra statuette from among the others without knowing precisely why, but to be assured and confident in the matter means a careful study of the interesting problem of local fabrics in Greece and her colonies. It will then be seen, to take one illustration, that the terracottas of Sicily compared with those of Tanagra are like a different dialect of the Greek tongue. Or again, it may not require much artistic perception to distinguish at first sight an archaic terracotta of the sixth century B.C. from a later one of the third century B.C. But if this first impression is to be deepened it can only be by a careful

analysis of artistic details, such as are characteristic of each of these periods, supplemented by knowledge of artistic development in Greece during that most momentous interval of three centuries. In the archaic period there is obviously greater refinement of execution and greater variety of subject. There are comparatively few statuettes of fashionable young women (*coræ*), the abundance of which in the later periods justified the name of *coroplastæ*, applied to the makers of statuettes. That is a change both in style and in subject which can only be discussed and in some degree explained after laborious research such as Miss Hutton's in a region of archæology which hitherto has tempted hardly any scholar.

Apparently it was not till a late period that the *coræ* began to take the form of mourners, and to be associated with funeral ceremonies like the "Pleureuses," as they are called, who surround the sarcophagus from Sidon now in Constantinople. The terracottas in question are perhaps rather more demonstrative, but there is a further analogy between them and the "Pleureuses" in the fact of their being often placed in groups on large terracotta vases, which vases were intended for the furniture of a tomb almost as explicitly as is a sarcophagus. We know that a large proportion of the terracottas, whether archaic or late, have been found in tombs, and we know that the same is true of the Greek painted vases. But just as there was one class of vases—the white *lekythi*—which had been made expressly for funeral purposes, so also there was at least one class of terracottas—the mourning *coræ*—similarly destined to the tomb from the first. But these terracottas and vases, however melancholy in action or in subject, and however well adapted to occasions of death, had no monopoly in the furnishing of a tomb. Miss Hutton's pages show that abundantly, and at the same time give many curious instances of other purposes for which terracottas were produced.

One of the first things a student wants to know is how the terracottas were made, and that is a point on which Miss Hutton has taken special pains to be minute and exact in her information, describing at some length the process of making the mould and taking an impression from it in soft clay, on which the artist could, if he chose, bestow any amount of finish. With a few moulds and some dexterous touches on the soft clay, it is astonishing what a variety of figures could be produced. Then came the

colouring, combined occasionally with gilding. I suppose the blues and pinks of the Tanagra statuettes represent the favourite colours of dress in Bœotia for display out of doors. In Athens we read of purples, saffrons, and whites in a Greek inscription which gives a list of dresses that had been presented to the goddess Artemis in her temple on the Acropolis. On the vases we often have pictures of young women being elaborately decked out, and in archaic times the women of Samos were reproached for the extravagance of their ornaments and dress when they turned out to ceremonies at the Temple of Hera. No wonder dress is an important feature in the terracottas.

Speaking generally of the statuettes one would say, young women are in a great majority, boys and girls fairly numerous, young men scarce. Clearly it was the young woman who ruled the taste of the household. But the coroplast may also have been guided to some extent by the very practical consideration that a young woman with her dress reaching to the ground presented a broad base and secured stability for the statuette, whereas the figure of a young man, bare from the knees downwards, was easily broken across at the ankles. Boy-figures are often made to sit on rocks, apparently for no other purpose than to have a broad base and not be easily overturned. But with young men this is not at all common, and the reason may be found in the difference of up-bringing between them and young women which Miss Hutton has described.

There is no doubt that many of the statuettes belong to the same age, and reflect the same spirit, as the epigrams of the Greek anthology. I think Miss Hutton has done wisely in drawing liberally from that sparkling source.

A. S. MURRAY.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

N.B.—All figures are in the British Museum unless otherwise so stated. The numbers following the provenance are those at present affixed to the figures in that collection, but a new catalogue is now being compiled, and this will eventually necessitate the re-numbering of the figures. The reputed provenance is assigned in all cases.

The coloured illustrations show the present condition of the statuettes; the notes describe their original colouring.

(The dimensions are given in centimetres. 6 inches = *circ.* 15 centimetres.)

ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOUR.

PLATE I. Standing female figure on a round plinth. Height 0.30. Blue shawl *Corinth.* C. 7.

„ II. Standing goddess. Height 0.21. Fig. broken below the knees. Hair and border of robe black; head-dress and robe red; lower necklace and bulla yellow. Thickness, 0.2. Solid. Cypriote Phenician workmanship. Found on the 'Plateau Sacré' at *Cameiros*. A. 22.

„ II. Standing Aphrodité with a leveret. Height 0.24. Fine clay, no vent. Reverse moulded. Tunic and mantle red; sleeve green. Used as a vase, mouth broken off. ... *Cameiros.* B. 105

„ III. Seated Artemis. Height 0.20. Yellow pattern on stephané and on back of throne; throne blue; footstool, hair, diplois and fawn red. Square vent. Right arm added. From the Piot collection. *Uncertain.* B. 358.

„ III. Eōs carrying off Kephalos. Height 0.15. Relief à jour; wings, lining to cloak and figure of Kephalos red; tunic yellow; hair black; plinth blue *Cameiros.* B. 219.

„ IV. Man on a mule. Height 0.12. Figure moulded. Mule modelled by hand. Blue coat; red hat *Tanagra.* B. 270.

„ IV. Boy on a swan. Height 0.12. Swan white, with red beak; boy's tunic blue; legs and cap red *Tanagra?* B. 271.

„ IV. Athenian Boy. Height 0.12. White mantle; crown and hair red. Sandalled shoes. No vent *Tanagra?* C. 334.

„ IV. Boy with a bag of knuckle-bones in his hand. Height 0.16. Flesh rose-pink, enamelled; hair red. Vent oblong *Tanagra.* C. 324.

PLATE IV. Satyr mask ; height 0.5. Beard and hair blue ; face red. From the outside of a tomb *Capua*. B. 479.

„ V. Eros, muffled in a cloak, bearing ostrich feather fan. Height 0.11. Found in a tomb at *Ægina* with others of similar style, and an archaic figure ; fan, blue, pink, and yellow ... *Ægina*. C. 40.

„ V. Eros bearing a musical instrument. Height 0.9. Phrygian costume, blue. Figure modelled behind with small hole for suspension. The tunic is not indicated behind *Tanagra*. C. 192.

„ VI. The cup-bearer. Nude standing youth. Height 0.17. Modelled back and front. No vent. Flesh red ; eyeballs white ; pupil black. *Athens*. C. 14.

„ VI. Pan the hunter. Height 0.16. Black legs ; red flesh tints and hair. Long vent. Plinth hollow ... *Eretria*. C. 282.

„ VII. A dancing-girl. Height 0.30. Flesh pink ; cap and tunic black ; hair red. Modelled behind *Tanagra* ? C. 286.

„ VIII. An attendant spirit. Semi-nude maiden seated on a rock. Height 0.17. Shawl pink ; hair red ; sphendoné white ; mask red. *Tanagra*. C. 316.

„ VIII. Eros. Height 0.15. Arms broken. Flesh enamelled pink. No other trace of colour ... *Centorbi, Sicily*. D. 26.

ILLUSTRATIONS IN MONOCHROME.

FIG. 1. Toy goat. Height 0.10. Horns red ; red and black lines on body to mark the wrinkles in the fleece *Tanagra*. B. 279.

„ 2. Jointed doll with crotala in her hands. Height 0.18. Covered with fine flesh-coloured glaze. Hair brown ; ditto eyes and eyebrows ; lips red *Cameiros*. B. 236.

„ 3. Woman kneading bread. Height 0.12. Face and head moulded, the rest modelled. No colour *Cameiros*. B. 221.

„ 4. Niké holding an alabastron. Height 0.26. Wings and drapery pink. *Canosa*. D. 81.

„ 5. Niké. Height 0.25 *Ibid.* D. 82.

„ 6. Mould and cast of upper part of Caryatid figure. Height 0.10. *Tarentum*. E. 14.

„ 7. Eros burning a butterfly. Height 0.21. Signature, APTEMΩNI on base *Myrina*. C. 535.

„ 8. Eros burning a butterfly. Height 0.21. Finely retouched and coloured. Chlamys pink ; hair brown ; altar green ... *Ibid.* C. 536.

„ 9. Seated veiled goddess. Archaic. Height 0.13 *Cameiros*. B. 58.

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„ 11. Nude crouching male figure. Height 0.14. Back modelled. No vent. Traces of red on feet. Vase mouth green	Cameiros. B. 89.
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„ 14. Athena. Height 0.20. No colour. Small circular vent.	Salamis. C. 125.
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„ 21. Girl with bird. Height 0.16. Hair red. Square vent.	Tanagra. C. 246.
„ 22. Corinna. Seated figure with an apple in her hand. Height 0.25. Rock blue; mantle rose-pink; flesh pink; hair red; fillet gilt.	Athens ? C. 336.
„ 23. Little girl. Height 0.10. No colour	Tanagra. C. 321.
„ 24. Nurse and child. Height 0.11. Hair of child red. No vent.	Tanagra. C. 279.
„ 25. Mother and child. Height 0.13. No colour.	Tanagra. C. 278.
„ 26. Writing lesson. Height 0.11. Boy nude. Fillet in curly red hair. Teacher semi-nude. Red cloak; hair and beard red; desk yellow. Square vent	Eretria. C. 214.
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FIG. 30. Bearded warrior. Height 0.24. No colour. Slightly modelled behind.
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„ 31. A Greek lady in gala dress. Height 0.24. Tunic blue and pink ;
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„ 32. Nereid bearing a helmet. Height 0.15. Hair yellow ; eye and snout
 of dolphin red. No vent. Plinth hollow. *Eretria ? C. 335.*

„ 33. Small gold box with figure of a Nereid. Width 0.3. Found in a tomb
 at Cameiros in Rhodes in 1862 with a vase (E. 424) now in the
 British Museum. The other end of the box shows Eros twirling a
 metal disc on a twisted string. The box with another like it and a
 gem, were found in an alabaster box *Cameiros.*

„ 34. Marsyas playing the double flute. Height 0.10. Modelled back and
 front. No vent. Figure and cloak red ; plinth green. Burges
 Coll. *Melos. C. 73.*

„ 35. Satyr with the infant Dionysos. Height 0.16. Whole body painted
 pink ; drapery blue ; grapes black. Back roughly modelled. Small
 round vent. Very heavy *Uncertain. C. 10.*

„ 36. Seilenos as a Pedagogue with Dionysos. Height 0.20. Cloak blue.
 No vent. Plinth hollow. *Eretria ? C. 281.*

GREEK TERRACOTTA STATUETTES

CHAPTER I

THE USE AND MEANING OF THE STATUETTES

“This little toy was mighty Brutus’ pet,
Great its renown, though small the statuette.”

“Gloria tam parvi non est obscura sigilli
Istius pueri Brutus amator erat.”—MARTIAL, *Epig.* xiv. 171.

GREEK terracotta statuettes have a double charm, archæological and æsthetic, the one appealing to a rather restricted class of students, the other to a much wider public.

To the archæologist a statuette is interesting in proportion to the evidence it affords of successive phases of thought and custom and the light it throws on obscure points in the evolution of religion and art; from this point of view archaic figures of the sixth century, some of which are frankly ugly, are much more attractive than the charming genre figure of the fourth or third century, whose interest lies mainly in its prettiness. So far, except in France, Greek statuettes have been chiefly treated from the archæological standpoint, but the present publication is addressed to that wider public which, though not repelled by their archæological interest, is mainly attracted by their æsthetic charm, and curious as to the circumstances under which they had their being, and the civilization which they represent. It therefore deals more particularly with those figures which are beautiful, roughly speaking those of later date than the middle of the fifth century B.C. and which represent genre subjects or hieratic and mythological ones, modified by the influence of the genre types. It is, however, impossible to entirely ignore the archaic statuettes of

the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries, for the genre figures are their lineal descendants, and by so doing we should lose the key to the most interesting and certainly the most important problems which arise in connection with these figures, the uses to which the Greeks put them and the meaning they attached to them.

The difficulty of the problem is much increased by the absence of definite contemporary statements; not a few classical writers allude incidentally to the figures, and valuable information can be gleaned from these scattered hints, but in the main we must rely on the results of excavation, which in the case of terracotta figures are often inaccessible, partly because in former days they were generally overlooked owing to their relative insignificance, and partly because the results of early excavations are often unmethodically recorded.

By far the greater number of Greek statuettes, and almost all the best specimens, have been taken out of tombs, but many are found on the sites of temples and houses, and it is with respect to the last-named finds that we especially feel the want of accurate records, because the only Greek town preserved to us is Pompeii, and its excavation dates from so far back that most of the documentary evidence has disappeared. The material at our disposal is, however, considerable, and by its help we may hope to explain the allusions of classical writers.

The evidence provided by the excavation of temple precincts is extremely important as it fully bears out the statements of Greek authors as to the practice of dedicating terracotta figures in temples and shrines. The best known passage is in the *Phaedrus* of Plato.¹—"By Hera," quoth Socrates, "a fair resting-place, full of summer sounds and scents. Here is the lofty and spreading plane tree, and the stream that flows beneath it is deliciously cool to the feet. Judging from the ornaments and the images, this must be a spot sacred to Achelous or the nymphs."

It may be confidently stated that every temple or shrine, so far excavated, has yielded numbers of these objects, and the finds are

¹ *Phæd.* 220, B. A vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris shows a fountain decorated with terracotta figures.

usually of a very peculiar character, an accumulation of broken figures of varying type and style, always accompanied by pieces of pottery, small bronzes, etc. It is well known that the temple guardians periodically emptied the shrines under their charge of the votive offerings which had accumulated there;¹ some of the metal objects were melted down and made into basins and lavers for the temple service, but nothing could be done with the terracotta figures or vases, so they were thrown away, but to prevent the desecration of objects which had belonged to a divinity, they were first broken.

In all such collections there are broadly speaking two classes of figures—those which have some obvious connection with temple worship, and those which have not. Under the first heading we may class representations of the local divinity or of other divinities, of persons and things employed in temple worship, and votive offerings proper, such as models of animals, limbs, etc. ; under the second come grotesque figures, genre figures and miscellaneous objects.

The relative proportions of these two groups vary considerably, and if we take the finds at two Greek temple sites—the shrine of Deméter and Koré at Tegea in the Peloponnesos, and the temple of Athené Kraneia at Elatæa in Northern Greece—we obtain the following results. At Tegea two hundred figures of the local goddesses, five hundred water-carriers (temple attendants) and a number of pigs (sacrificial animals). At Elatæa only eight statuettes of Athené, and twenty-two of other divinities; eighteen dancing figures (temple attendants) and one of a priestess bearing a pig.

The second group, consisting of grotesque and genre figures and miscellaneous objects, was represented at Tegea by six hundred grotesque and ten genre statuettes, among the latter a woman riding on a camel. Athené, on the other hand, received only twelve grotesque figures and seven hundred genre, chiefly matrons of fourth-century type (Fig. 20), and such miscellaneous objects as a dolphin, a tortoise, fans, jointed dolls (Fig. 2), and weights and measures.

These two finds establish the important fact concerning the use of terracotta figures in temples, that *any figure was a suitable offering to any divinity*,—and that though some may have been more appropriate

¹ *Corpus Inscript. Græc.* vol. i. 1570.

in particular circumstances than others, there was no class that could not be given. One of the most curious points elicited is that the image of another divinity was apparently as acceptable an offering as one of the god or goddess to whom the dedication was made ; no doubt such figures were sometimes copies of the statue of the pilgrim's own local deity, especially when the local statue was a celebrated one, but at Elatæa we find Eros, Psyché, Leda, Dionysos, Aphrodité and Demèter, and it is difficult at first sight to see how they can be considered appropriate offerings to Athené, because we read into them an esoteric character which they did not possess. It was the *intention* of the giver, the fact of their being offered, which made them appropriate offerings, not any inherent fitness of their own, and that is why the objects unearthed are so various in character. Such figures as pigs, birds, water-carriers, dancers and priestesses present no difficulty, for they may embody a certain idea of substitution, of performing by deputy duties whose constant performance was impossible. Again, the offering of votive limbs to any deity, not merely to Apollo and Asklépios, is too natural a form of thanksgiving to require any comment, while classical writers supply an explanation of the presence of toys and jointed dolls in the sanctuaries of Apollo, Artemis and Aphrodité, when they tell us that a maiden before marriage, and a boy at about fourteen, dedicated their toys to these deities, a custom referred to in the following epigram which accompanied such an offering—

TO ARTEMIS.¹

“ Maiden, to thee, before her marriage Timareté gives
 Her cap, her tambourines, her favourite ball,
 And as is meet, oh ! Artemis, the maiden brings
 Her childhood's toys, her dolls, their clothes and all.”

but dolls are found in the shrines of other divinities, not merely in those of Artemis and Aphrodité.

¹ Τιμαρέτα πρὸ γάμου τὰ τύμπανα, τήν τ' ἐρατεινὴν
 σφαιραν, τὸν τὲ κόμας ρύτορα κεκρύφαλον,
 τὰς τε κόρας, Λιμνάτι, κόρα κόρα ὡς ἐπιεικὲς,
 ἀνθετο, καὶ τὰ κορᾶν ἐνδύματ', Ἀρτέμιδι.—*Anthol. Pal.* vi. 280.

Objects which had been the personal property of the giver, such as fibulæ, hairpins, weapons and jewellery, were often presented, and a number of the dedicatory epigrams which accompanied them are collected in the sixth book of the *Anthologia Palatina*, among them the following by Mnasalcos on a bow and quiver given to Apollo.¹

“Phœbus, to thee this curved bow and empty sounding quiver
Are offered at thy sacred shrine by Promachos the giver.
But ah! the shafts that used within that painted case to rattle,
Now in the foemen’s hearts are sheathed whom he hath slain in battle.”

Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.

With these offerings we may class such statuettes as show marked differences of clay and technique, or peculiar artistic merit, and in such cases the personal element sufficiently explains the gift, but when all these deductions are made, there remain a vast number of figures whose dedication cannot be accounted for on such grounds, as for instance the hundreds of figures representing a Greek woman of the day, offered to Athené; and in support of the theory that the choice of an offering was more or less the result of chance we may quote another epigram showing under what circumstances a school-boy offered a comic figure to the Muses.²

“Konnaros’ skill with style and reed has gained the writing prize,
And eighty shining knuckle-bones delight his eager eyes.
I am funny little Chares, and ‘mid his comrades’ glee,
To the Muses who inspired him, he dedicated me.”

Our information as to the use of terracotta figures in private houses is based entirely on the excavations at Pompeii. It is so far unsatisfactory, that we have no means of discriminating between local and general custom, a point of great importance in this case, because

¹ Σοὶ μὲν καμπύλα τόξα, καὶ ἰοχέαιρα φαρέτρη,
δῶρα παρὰ Προμάχου, Φοῖβε, τάδε κρέμαται
ἰοὺς δὲ πτερόεντας ἀνὰ κλόνον ἄνδρες ἔχοντιν
ἐν κραδίαις, ὅλοὶ ξείνια δυσμενέων.—*Anthol. Pal.* vi. 9.

² Νικήτας τοὺς παῖδας, ἐπεὶ καλὰ γράμματ’ ἔγραψεν
Κόνναρος ὁγδώκοντ’ ἀστραγάλους ἔλαβεν.
κάμε, χάριν Μούσαις, τὸν κωμικὸν ὅδε Χάρητα
πρεσβύτην θορύβῳ, θήκατο παιδαρίων.—*ASKLEPIADES, Anthol. Pal.* vi. 308.

though we are justified in including Pompeii among Greek towns, objects found there belong chiefly to the middle of the first century A.D. Some few are *præ-Augustan*, but none can be assigned to an earlier date than the end of the Hellenistic age. The term is a conveniently vague one, and is applied to the last three centuries of the pagan era when the empire of the Greeks extended over the known world, but was one of taste and intellect only, and every educated person, whether Greek or barbarian, was a Hellene and adopted Greek customs, with such modifications as were suggested by local requirements. The customs of Pompeii do not therefore prove Greek custom as the customs of Athens would do, but they are the only evidence available, and therefore for the present must suffice.

About two hundred perfect figures of varying size have been discovered in the ruins of Pompeii; they appear but sparingly in the better class houses, but were found in increasing, but not large, quantities as the industrial part of the town was uncovered. It is therefore evident that by A.D. 79 they had gone out of fashion among the rich, and were even losing their popularity among the poor. A number lay in the outbuildings (probably the slaves' quarters) of one of the larger houses, but when found actually in the palaces, they always show some novelty of technique or style which explains their presence there. Their comparative scarcity is doubtless caused partly by a change of taste, which led to the employment of metal rather than clay, even for vases, but something may be due to an earthquake which took place in A.D. 63. Great damage was done by it and the necessary repairs were not entirely completed when the town was overwhelmed in A.D. 79. The terracotta ornamentation of the temples suffered severely, and there is every reason to suppose that the figures did so too, but fortunately sufficient remain to show the uses to which they were put, and their presence in larger numbers in the poorer houses is in itself a proof that at one time they had been more common in the richer ones.

In the latter all statuettes stand in niches, whether in the atrium, the inner rooms or the garden court: sometimes the high garden wall contained recesses, in one case six, two still holding figures.

The most usual place for them was evidently the atrium, where

they are found in company with small bronzes of a kind which shows that the niche was the lararium or shrine of the household deities. In the House of Lucretius, this contained five such bronzes and a terracotta bust of a boy with a bulla round his neck. A similar recess in another house held two bronzes, a warrior and a Diana, and two terracottas, a female bust and a seated woman with a child in her arms.

Besides the niches which served as lararia, there were others over the inner door of the house; for instance Minerva with shield and bowl had her place in one peristyle, and a similar figure in a similar position was found at Herculaneum. This custom of placing a house under the protection of a divinity was a common one in Greece, and is referred to in several dedicatory epigrams, as:¹

“A hero warder of Eetion’s door I stand,
No weapon save my sword is in my hand.
A little sentinel just fits a little shrine,
He hates the ‘Guards’ so chose me from the ‘Line.’”

Similar recesses were found over the doors of inner rooms, and a Greek commentator refers to the custom of placing a little terracotta figure of Hephaistos opposite the hearth as “protector of the fire.”

Those figures which stood either on pedestals in the niches, or for greater security in depressions in them, were probably objects of worship, but the niches themselves were not used merely as lararia; one in the peristyle of the House of M. Gavius Rufus contained a relief of Æneas carrying off Anchises, a group of two slaves bearing a palanquin with a figure in it, a seated figure of Abundantia and a crouching slave. The number of figures it contained suggests that it was a cupboard, but niches were also used to display the figures, for the garden cloister of the Villa of Julia Felix, one of the most gorgeous of the Pompeian houses, decorated in the taste of the Neronian age, had eighteen, containing alternately small herms and terracotta figures of which the subjects are comic, a bearded barbarian, a young man with a cake and a bald-headed man. It will thus be seen that only two classes of figures appear, sacred

¹ "Ἡρως Αἰετίωνος Ἐπίσταθμος Ἀμφιπολίτεω
ἴδρυμαι μικρῷ μικρὸς ἐπὶ προθύρῳ
λοξὸν ὄφιν καὶ μοῦνον ἔχων ξίφος· ἀνδρὶ ἵππῳ
θυμοθεὶς πεζὸν κάμε παρῳκίσατο.—*Anthol. Pal.* ix. 336.

and profane, the former found only in the lararia, where they are clearly objects of worship, or in niches over the doors, in which case we may regard them as tutelary deities ; the genre figures are the only ones used as ornaments, though their frequent presence in the lararia suggests that they were offered to the household deities, as in temples they were offered to the greater gods. Some at least were highly valued by their owners, for two skeletons were found in the streets, fugitives who had gathered up their treasures in haste ; one, a man, clutched his money, his jewellery and a statuette ; the other, a woman, was still holding a little female figure with a child in its arms.

From the presence of these statuettes in Pompeian houses, we can argue that Greek houses also contained them, both as ornaments and as objects of worship, but we can draw no conclusion from them as to the subjects chosen. Doubtless many were religious, like the Aphrodité dedicated by Chrysogona,¹

“Here heavenly Aphrodité you survey,
Style her celestial, and your offering pay.
This in the house of Amphicles is placed,
Fair present of Chrysogona the chaste.”—*Translated by FAWKES.*

and probably there were fewer purely genre subjects, as the taste for realism is characteristic of the Roman age. At Pompeii we find none of the indefinite figures so common in the temples and tombs of earlier date, which form a link between religious and profane types ; for instance, there are no graceful winged youths and maidens, whose place is taken by men and women in Roman costume, warriors and gladiators ; the Seileni and grotesque nude figures of the sixth and fifth centuries are replaced by the caricatures of slaves, barbarians and actors which appear for the first time in the second century B.C., and which at their first appearing are still associated with mythological subjects in which beauty of form is more sought after than a realistic and accurate representation of nature. This difference of national temperament makes it impossible to base on

¹ ‘Α Κύπρις οὐ πάνταμος’ ἵλασκε τὰν θεὸν, εἰπὼν
Οὐρανίαν, ἀγνὰς ἄνθεμα Χρυσογόνας
οἴκω ἐν Ἀμφικλέους, φαὶ καὶ τέκνα καὶ βίον ἔσχε
ξυνὸν, ἀεὶ δέ σφιν λώιον εἰς ἔτος ἦν
ἐκ σέθεν ἀρχομένοις, ὃ πότνια.—*Anthol. Pal.* vi. 340.

the contents of Pompeian houses, any theory as to the *type* of figure likely to be found in a Greek dwelling, though it is fair evidence of their presence there, but if any connection can be proved between the contents of Pompeian tombs and houses, we may reasonably assume a like connection between the contents of a Greek house and of the contemporary cemeteries. The inadequate records of early Pompeian excavations render this comparison somewhat difficult, but one Pompeian tomb contained a cameo vase of blue glass and eight terracotta statuettes, *viz.*—

- A female mask of hieratic type.
- Two animals.
- Mars.
- Mercury.
- Two porters bearing burdens.
- A gladiator.

Replicas of the mask and the gladiator were found in two houses, palanquin bearers and a huckster, similar in style to the porters, in three houses, while the Mars, from its purely Roman treatment, may be compared with a group of *Æneas* and *Anchoris* found in the House of M. Gavius Rufus.

The intimate connection between the contents of a Pompeian house and tomb being thus obvious it remains only to show that Greek tombs contain objects of somewhat similar character, in order to prove a like connection between their contents and those of Greek houses.

It was by no means an invariable custom to place statuettes in the tombs. MM. Pottier and Reinach opened five thousand in a cemetery at Myrina in Asia Minor which dates from the end of the third century B.C. to the beginning of the first, and found that the percentage was as follows:—forty seven contained nothing, nineteen contained figures, and thirty three other miscellaneous objects. MM. Salzmann and Biliotti explored two hundred and eighty six tombs in a sixth-century cemetery at Cameiros in Rhodes; only a few were absolutely empty, fifty yielded figures and other objects, and the rest contained vases and articles of bronze and bone. Pages could be filled with an inventory of the contents of Greek tombs, but for purposes of comparison with the Pompeian one, three will suffice chosen at random from different places and different ages.

Cameiros in Rhodes. Sixth century B.C.

Two terracotta reliefs à jour. Eôs carrying off Kephalos (Plate III.), and the contest of Peleus and Thetis.

One seated female figure (Fig. 9).	}	Terracotta.
One female mask (Fig. 12).		
Ten fruits.		
Two Seileni.		
Two vases.		

Two glass bottles.
One large sea shell (engraved).

Eretria. Third century B.C.

Three white Athenian funeral vases.

Six terracotta figures.

Dionysos.	}	Terracotta.
Boy with grapes.		
Eros.		
An actor.		
A herm.		
A mask of Pan (Fig. 15).		
Five gold diadems.		
One gold ribbon decorated with tinsel leaves.		
One gold ring.		
Ten gilt terracotta buttons.		

One writing instrument.

Myrina in Asia Minor. Second century B.C.

One mirror.

One dish.

Fibulæ.

One bust of Deméter (hieratic).

One nude Aphrodité.

Three weeping sirens.

Three floating female figures.

There is a curious similarity between the contents of the four tombs, which range over a period of 600 years; the difference between the Greek and the Pompeian tombs (see page 9) is one of degree, not kind; the glass bottles of Cameiros correspond to the engraved blue glass vase of Pompeii. We have the same personal possessions, sea shell, golden ring, mirror and cameo vase, and in each case a collection of terracotta figures. We saw how faithfully the contents of that one Pompeian tomb reflected the finds in Pompeian palaces, and therefore we may assume that had a Greek city met with the fate of Pompeii, we should find standing in its houses such things

as we now find in its tombs, and that among them would be not a few of the same terracotta statuettes.

Returning to the study of the contents of the earlier Greek tombs, we find that all contain some objects made purposely for them, *i.e.* the female bust from Cameiros, the gilt clay buttons and tinsel jewellery from Eretria, and the weeping sirens from Myrina; but that in addition to these, all contain hieratic, genre and grotesque figures, and personal possessions such as fibulæ, so that the contents of a tomb and the contents of a temple also differed only in extent —in kind they were the same. They also show the same change in the terracottas offered.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, they are almost without exception hieratic (Fig. 9) and grotesque (Fig. 11) in type and the explanation of their use and meaning is comparatively simple. They were intended as amulets to protect the dead from evil influences, and there is no difficulty in giving a religious explanation of the figures; but after the end of the fifth century the hieratic types, *i.e.* the figures of the under-world goddesses, the Seileni and nude crouching figures, gradually die out, and their place is taken by a multitude of graceful female figures (Fig. 17) which in turn are succeeded by floating youths and maidens and figures from the Dionysiac cycle. Caricatures of scenes from everyday life take the place of the grotesque figures, and it is no longer possible to find the faintest suggestion of religious motive in the greater number of the figures, though down to the latest period one figure in a tomb is usually of hieratic type; for instance, the female mask found in a tomb in Pompeii (page 9).

During the last seven centuries, therefore, of the Pagan era, a change was gradually taking place in the relative proportions of the hieratic and the "profane" figures placed in the tombs, until by the beginning of the first century B.C. their positions were reversed, and the latter were in the majority. The earliest necropolis under discussion, that of Cameiros, contained many objects to which no religious meaning can possibly be attached: strigils, mirrors, sea-shells, swords, glass bottles, spindle-rings, toys, vases, and two terracotta reliefs dealing with mythological subjects, the carrying off of Kephalos

by Eôs (Plate III.), and the struggle of Peleus and Thetis. The difference between the earlier and the later tombs is, that in the former the secular objects are generally not terracotta figures, but such objects as those enumerated above, while in the latter, in addition to such objects, which appear down to the Christian era, there is a large and increasing number of female figures of such indefinite type that they are known to Greek writers merely as “*κοίται*” maidens (Fig. 16). This indefiniteness of type makes it impossible to account for their presence by the theory that they protect the dead, like the hieratic or grotesque amulet figures, but some light is thrown on the subject by Vitruvius, the Roman architect, who in describing the origin of the Corinthian capital, tells how a young girl died, and how her nurse brought to the tomb “those things which in life she had most dearly loved and placed them in a basket there.”¹ Numerous passages in wills relate to the custom of burying personal possessions; for instance, a law case opens thus²—A woman on her death-bed made her will as follows: “I desire to be buried as my husband wishes. Everything I wear on the day of my funeral is to be buried with me, and of my jewels, the two strings of pearls and my bracelets set with emeralds.” Another testator says³—“All my implements of the chase are to be buried with me, lances, swords, knives, nets, snares, ropes, decoys, cages, my bath furniture, my palanquins, my coracle and my woven and embroidered robes.”

No special mention is made either of terracotta figures or of vases, which occur quite as frequently as the objects mentioned. Panathenaic vases, the symbol of the proudest moment in a Greek's life, are usually found in tombs; so are the greater number of the beautiful red-figured vases signed by artists of renown, which were won in games of skill, and like the amphoræ were buried with their possessors, but were certainly not made for that purpose. On the analogy of this custom it is likely that any very beautiful statuette (Plate VIII.), especially if not of local manufacture, found in a grave, was the personal property of the deceased, and had served to adorn

¹ “Post sepulturam eius quibus ea virgo viva delectabatur, nutrix collecta, et comporta in calatho, pertulit ad monumentum et summo conlocavit.”—VITRUV. IV. 1, 9.

² Digest. xxiv. 2, 40.

³ HÜBNER, *Annali*, 1864, p. 207.

his house ; but this would only account for a small number. Besides these very choice figures there are others of similar type which are found in great numbers. They cannot all have adorned the houses, because one tomb often contains several replicas of the same figure, and at Myrina one had nothing in it but ten pairs of wings ; so that they must be offerings from the friends of the deceased, not an offering in the sense that offerings were made to divinities to appease them, but a last tribute of respect, like the flowers sent now-a-days. There was no religious meaning attached to them any more than to the fibulæ, the jewellery and the vases, and it must be borne in mind that we have no proof that even these were always the personal property of the deceased, they may have been offerings from friends.

We therefore learn that all terracotta figures can be divided into two classes, those which occupy the position in which they are found in virtue of a definite meaning attached to them, and those which derive a meaning from the accident of the position in which the will of the purchaser placed them. These latter first attain importance in the fourth century B.C., but they existed from the earliest times, in the shape of vases in human or animal form (Fig. 11). This class provided the bulk of the offerings to divinities and the presents to the dead ; their variations of type, style and technique are the natural consequences of fluctuations of taste, both local and national ; from the indefinite "maidens" of fourth-century type we pass to floating figures and groups to which the taste of the age gave mythological names and attributes (Figs. 4 and 5), and through this stage to the intensely realistic types which first appear in the comic figures and ultimately reign supreme. The variety of types all used for one purpose, is in itself sufficient to show that no deep-seated meaning can be attached to them. They had three recommendations : they were cheap, and so within the reach of all, they offered no temptation to tomb-robbers, and they were pretty and pleasant to look at and good to live with, but they had no meaning until the purchaser had decided on their destination, and, certain "funereal" types apart, the same figures served to decorate Greek temples, Greek tombs and Greek houses.

CHAPTER II

METHODS OF MANUFACTURE

“For they (the image-makers) use a mould; and whatsoever clay they put into it comes out in shape like the mould.”

καὶ γὰρ ἐκένοι (οἱ κοροπλάθοι) τύπον τινὰ παρέχοντες ὅποιον ἀν πηλὸν εἰς τοῦτον ἐμβάλωσιν ὅμοιον τῷ τύπῳ τὸ εἶδος ἀποτελοῦσιν.—Dio. Chrys. Or. ix. 25.

THE terracotta statuettes afford convincing proof of the high artistic level of popular taste in Greece. Their makers, the Koroplastæ,¹ to give them their Greek name, occupied no distinguished position in the hierarchy of art, they were its humblest servants, and neither received nor claimed the name of artists, but neither were they mere craftsmen and their work only the product of generations of inherited mechanical skill, for it shows that sense of beauty of form which was the birthright of every Greek, and which he absorbed as insensibly as the air he breathed. The potter was not an artist whose creations appealed only to the select few, his cheap reproductions were for the many, his one aim to hit the public taste, therefore the terracottas are the surest evidence of what this taste really was. Any large collection of Greek statuettes contains some figures that are rough, some that are careless, some that offend our notions of decency, but none that are in *bad* artistic taste; the conception is always large, the lines harmonious. They are in very truth statuettes, statues in little, and retain the breadth and grandeur of conception of the great works by which they were inspired.

Our admiration for these statuettes is only increased by a knowledge of the simple methods used in their production. There were two ways of making them, modelling by hand and casting from a mould; the former process is the more ancient, and in later times was used only for

¹ HARPOCR. 114, 27: κοροπλάθος τοὺς ἐκ πηλοῦ πλάττοντας κόρας ἢ κόρους οὐτως ὀνόμαζον.

very small, rough figures, made by giving a pinch here and there to a bit of clay until it assumed the rough form of a human being or of an animal. Some of these little figures (Figs. 1 and 3) are wonderfully spirited and true to nature ; but the earliest human figures found are simply slabs of clay with a triangular lump at the top for a head and two fin-like appendages for arms ; seated figures were made by bending the clay and placing a support beneath it, standing ones by thickening it at the base, so as to form a cone or wedge. The first improvement effected is to stamp a face on the upper part of the clay and to round off the top roughly in the form of a head ; the next, to use a stamp for the whole of the front of the figure, and we thus have a solid lump of clay with the figure embossed on it. When the margin was cut away it presented a superficial likeness to some of the early moulded figures, but there is always this difference, that in the one case the clay is put into the mould, and in the other the stamp is pressed upon it.

The practice of moulding figures instead of stamping them doubtless arose from the difficulty of firing a solid lump of clay without warping it. Many of the moulds used in the manufacture of statuettes have been found ; this one from Tarentum (Fig. 6) represents the upper part of a draped female figure with her hands clasped above her head. A mould necessarily presupposes the existence of an original figure which must have been in the first instance modelled by hand, but of these models nothing is said by classical authors. Pliny indeed mentions that the little clay models (*proplasmata*) of the sculptor Pasiteles fetched high prices among amateurs of art, and quotes a saying of his to the effect that “modelling in clay was the parent art of chasing, carving and sculpture,” but the extreme cheapness of the Greek statuettes and the absolute impossibility of “patenting” a novelty, would put sculptors’ models out of the reach of the koroplast, and those he employed were probably made by a rather superior class of artificer. Now-a-days such



Central Museum, Athens ; from Eretria.

models are built up on a wooden substructure which burns away in the firing, leaving the figure hollow, and probably the same method was used in classical times. The mould was made of clay baked very hard, and into it the workman carefully pressed a thin layer of fine moist clay,¹ adding others until the requisite thickness was obtained ; the mould was then set to dry, and the shrinkage produced by evaporation soon allowed of the cast being removed from it.

For the commonest class of figures a mould is used for the front only, and the back is formed by a convex mass of clay cemented to the front so as to form with it a rough cylinder : for the backs of a better class of statuette there was a second mould, giving the general outline, and sometimes sufficient sketchy detail to complete the main features of the front, and the two casts are carefully joined with a little liquid clay. There are a small number of statuettes in which the back is modelled as carefully as the front, but these are imitations of bronzes, and comparatively rare (Plate VI.).

Statuettes in which only one mould is used for the whole length of the figure are necessarily somewhat stiff and constrained in pose, and are treated rather as if they were reliefs than figures in the round ; the head is joined to the shoulders either by the head-dress or the hair, and portions of the background are left wherever their absence would endanger the safety of the cast ; the result is an impression of hieratic stiffness and rigidity, and for that reason this, the earliest method, was retained down to the latest times in making statuettes for temple offerings.

Many more moulds and a more complicated method of procedure are required for most of the later figures, *i.e.* for those which appear in and after the fourth century B.C. ; for instance, a dancing girl (Fig. 31) required thirteen, three for the head and cap, two for the body from neck to knee, and two for each arm and leg ; the draped lady shown in Fig. 17 five in all, two for the head, back and front, two for the draped figure, and one for the fan. All the parts were cast separately, then very carefully fitted into one another and cemented with liquid clay, all roughnesses removed and the whole set to dry.

¹ Dio. Chrys. Or. ix. 25.

It would be a mistake to suppose that because a Greek koroplast used thirteen moulds for one particular figure, he required a vast assortment of them to pursue his trade. Nothing is more characteristic of Greek art than its extreme economy of method ; the sculptor, instead of inventing new types, developed and modified old ones, the koroplast, his humble follower, made half a dozen different figures out of the judicious combination of a few moulds, and that is the reason why the heads and arms are frequently too big or too small for the bodies to which they are attached.

A careful study of any large collection of figures from Bœotia, Asia Minor or Italy shows that though there is a strong family likeness between those from one locality there are hardly ever two which are exactly alike, because by selection and combination of different moulds the potter was able to produce an infinite number of variations. The two accompanying figures are a striking example of the manner in which these variations were obtained (Figs. 4, 5) ; the same mould has been used in each case for the body, but the addition of different heads, wings, arms and attributes has changed not merely the type but the pose of the figures.

Sometimes these more or less haphazard combinations are not very happy, but as a rule they are, thanks to the sense of beauty of form which was, so to speak, in the air, and it is on the artistic feeling with which the Greek potter combined his moulds that he rests his claim to be something more than a mere craftsman.

After the statuette had been put together and before it was fired, it was subjected to a very delicate and skilful process of retouching ; the workman went over the whole surface with a graver, sharpening outlines, smoothing roughnesses, intensifying details of feature, head-dress and drapery, and giving to the whole that aspect of individuality which is the great charm of the Boeotian statuettes from the Tanagra district, and which is so characteristic of them that any specially pretty figure, whatever its provenance, is popularly known as a "Tanagra." The value of this retouching process is shown by two figures from the same mould, representing Eros burning a butterfly (Psyché) ; in the one (Fig. 7) the details are barely distinguishable, and the whole is heavy and lifeless, while in the other (Fig. 8) after

retouching, they are clear, and the whole scene is instinct with life and grace¹—

“Oh, love, be kinder, or some day,
Alighting with thy cruel torch,
Again my singed soul to scorch,
Thou wilt not find her. She too has wings to fly away.”

Translated by W. R. PATON.

The retouching process was not unaccompanied by risk and of course added to the cost of a figure, so that numbers even of the statuettes from the Tanagra district have not undergone it, and the vast majority of statuettes found in other places are left just as they came from the mould.

To avoid risk the figures were fired at a very low temperature, and for the same reason a hole was cut in the back to facilitate evaporation; it varies in shape, size and position according to the district in which the figure was made, and is entirely absent in some figures which are imitations of bronze statuettes (Plate VI.). After the firing the accessories were stuck on: these, fans, hats, wreaths, birds, etc., were made and fired separately and added at the caprice of the potter. The whole figure was next coated with a white lime-wash, the object being to make a medium for the final decoration in colour. Unfortunately this lime-wash peels off and brings the colour with it, so that we do not often find a statuette in which the original tints are well preserved, but enough remains to show that the scheme of colour was a brilliant one in which red and blue predominated, as might be inferred from the words of a Greek, who in advising his friend to cultivate solid learning says,² “otherwise you will be like potter’s work, all blue and red outside, and all clay and rubbish inside.” Common figures are roughly coloured, but the finer ones are decorated with care, red-brown being used for the hair, red for the lips, rose pink for flesh tints, pink and blue for masses of drapery, green for borders and patterns, and yellow or gold for trinkets.

In every district where these statuettes were made, and it would

¹ Τὴν πνὺ τηχομένην ψυχὴν ἀν πολλάκι καὶ γε,
φεύξετ', “Ερως· καῦτὴ σχέτλι', ἔχει πτέρυγας.—MELEAGER, *Anthol. Pal.* v. 57.

² ὡς νῦν γε ἐλελίθεις σαντὸν τοῦς ὑπὸ τῶν κοροπλάθων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλαττομένοις
ἔσικῶς, κεχρωσμένος μὲν τῇ μίλτῳ καὶ τῷ κνανῷ, τὸ δὲ ἔνδοθεν πήλινός τε καὶ εὔθρυπτος
ῶν.—LUCIAN, *Lexiph.* 22.

be difficult to find one from which they are entirely absent, the same methods of manufacture were pursued, but almost every centre of production has certain local peculiarities of make and a predilection for certain classes of figures (Chapter IV.). By a very careful study of the *rough* figures excavated in any one locality we can determine the local types or type, because such rough figures are made on the spot, and it is not unreasonable to consider that finer statuettes of like type are likewise local work. As the result of such comparisons we are now in possession of a certain number of types of which we can speak unhesitatingly as Boeotian, Attic, Corinthian, etc., but it must be borne in mind that from all the most famous centres of production there was a regular export trade in moulds and statuettes, and that given the mould and skill in retouching, there was nothing to prevent a potter in Asia Minor from reproducing a Boeotian figure, local peculiarities and all, and in some cases it is impossible for even the most experienced eye to distinguish between the two unless there happens to be some unmistakable peculiarity in the clay used for the copy.

It might be supposed that in such cases the texture of the clay would be a sure guide as to provenance, but this is not the case; excavation only reveals the character of the local clay or clays under normal conditions of firing. We can therefore discriminate between local and imported figures in any one district and determine the characteristics to be expected in the normal figures of a given place, but these hold good only for average figures. A fine specimen is usually better fired, and then the local characteristics so far disappear that they can only be detected by chemical analysis, and there are obvious difficulties in the way of applying such a test to a fine statuette.

The Greek laws respecting excavations are unfortunately so framed as to put every obstacle in the way of *bonâ-fide* excavators and to encourage clandestine operations, and therefore most of the fine genuine statuettes which come into the market are the result of the latter; the finder has every reason to conceal the real locality of his *trouvaille*, and his statements on the subject need not be taken seriously unless confirmed by the presence of a number of minute details of style and technique which can only be learnt by the constant handling and study of genuine examples.

The question of provenance is, however, one which chiefly concerns the archæologist, for inability to assign a Greek statuette to its proper provenance, to distinguish a figure from Asia Minor from one from Bœotia or Africa, does not affect our enjoyment of its artistic charm ; we may even derive legitimate *artistic* satisfaction from one class of the forged statuettes. These, roughly speaking, fall into two groups, modern casts from ancient moulds and figures, and modern casts from modern moulds. Nothing can be simpler than to reproduce the ancient methods of casting, retouching, firing, and painting ; and though the figures thus obtained are usually too heavy, too fresh and clean, too daintily painted, too artistically damaged, to deceive a practised eye and touch, they are at least of authentic Greek type ; they have the beauty of outline and large simplicity of design which is found in Greek work, and the forger's offence is a sin against morality, not against art. It is not, however, this class of forgery which usually tempts the non-expert, and his mistakes are due to ignorance of the precise nature of the charm of Greek art, and notably of its simplicity, for the forger does not content himself with copying, he invents and fathers on the ancient world, types which are the outcome of modern ways of looking at classical models. Modern artistic taste, even when good, is the "heir of all the ages," a curiously complicated product, enriched with the accretions of two thousand years and the spoils of many nations ; it cannot look at the beautiful from the simple Greek standpoint. Therefore the forger produces a figure which sins against every canon of Greek art, but which appeals to even cultivated modern taste, for many, judged by modern standards, are quite charming, only they are not Greek, and to an eye trained in the severe school of Greek art, they are not merely ridiculous, they are a crime against that art.

For this reason much bitterness has been imported into recent discussions of the question ; the possessors of such figures feel that their treasures are beautiful, and cannot understand why archæologists, usually, in their opinion, persons of no pretensions to taste, should at a glance relegate them to "a class of antiquities which no museum cares to possess."

CHAPTER III

ARCHAIC STATUETTES

“Despise *me*, Mercury, because I’m only clay!
 Cheap product of the potter’s art.
I glory in my humble birth, and say
 ‘I only saw the humble giver’s grateful heart.’”

Αντόθεν ὁστράκινόν με καὶ ἐν ποσὶ γῆνον Ἐρμῆν
ἐπλασεν ἀψίδος κύκλος ἐλίσπομενος.
Πηλὸς ἐφυράθην, οὐ ψεύσομαι, Ἀλλ’ ἐφίλησα
ῳ ἔειν, ὁστρακέων δύσμορον ἐργασίην.

Anthol. Pal. xvi. (*App. Plan.*) 191.

THE statuettes dealt with in the present chapter are those archaic figures which in the sixth and fifth centuries were used as temple offerings, and placed in the tombs to protect the dead from evil influences.

The study of any large and representative collection of these archaic statuettes shows that it contains little beside hieratic types, *i. e.* figures of feminine divinities and grotesque male figures; further examination shows that the same fundamental idea underlies all the figures of feminine divinities, that precisely similar figures are to be found in places which are separated from each other by the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, and that two types of figure predominate to the practical exclusion of all others,—a seated woman dressed in a long robe, with a veil falling over her shoulders from her high head-dress, her feet resting on a footstool, her hands lying stiffly in her lap (Fig. 9), and a standing one, with one foot advanced, one hand pressed to her bosom, the other drawing aside the skirt of the long tunic over which she wears a curiously pleated little mantle (Plate II.); the faces of both figures are somewhat full and fleshy, their eyes are oblique and their mouths are distorted by a fixed smile. The curiosity aroused by the universal diffusion of these two types of statuette, which are obviously

the creation of one and the same school, is heightened when we find that the culminating point of every collection of archaic Greek statues is a feminine figure, which in attitude, dress, face, and expression is identical with those just described, and that in sculpture, as in the terracotta statuettes, the standing and the seated variants exhaust the artist's repertory.

The discovery that at the end of the sixth century one type of face and dress dominated Greek art throughout its whole extent, that statues which are close parallels of our seated figure are found at Miletus in Asia Minor, in the island of Rhodes, in Athens, at Marseilles, that others which are only a more perfect rendering of the standing one exist in Athens, in Sicily and in the islands of the *Æ*gean, that no other feminine types are found except these two, and that the faces of the masculine statues are fashioned in accordance with the same canon of taste, naturally leads us to enquire under what social and artistic influences the Greeks evolved the type.

Briefly its history is this—It had its rise in the Greek trading communities who in the period between 900 and 550 B.C. migrating from Greece, established themselves on the eastern coast of Asia Minor (Ionia), where they came into contact with the oriental kingdoms of Phrygia and Lydia, and in the islands of the *Æ*gean where they settled among a population of more primitive Greek race. The cities of Ionia, under the rule of the descendants of their original leaders, attained to great wealth and prosperity, some of their members intermarried with Lydians, and their Greek civilization thus acquired an oriental tinge. The island settlements, conspicuous among which were the Rhodian towns of Cameiros, Lindos and Ialysos, were no less prosperous, the Rhodian and Ionian merchants wrested the trade of the *Æ*gean Sea from the Phenicians in whose hands it had been, they founded colonies in Southern Italy and in Sicily, and the islands and shores of the *Æ*gean Sea were peopled by busy communities of enterprising Greek traders in constant communication with each other, wealthy enough to desire to surround themselves with the material evidences of their prosperity, those foreign objects of luxury which the chances of trade threw in their way, and intelligent enough to adapt and modify them to suit their own taste. These objects they obtained from two sources: from the



PHœNICIAN FIGURE.

Brit. Mus. A. 22.



APHRODITE, WITH A LEVERET.

Brit. Mus. B. 105.

Lydians and from the Phenicians, who though driven out of the Ægean Sea by Greek enterprise had a large trade with them and a basis of operations in Cyprus, where they had maintained the supremacy which at a very early period they had established over the indigenous Greek population. The geographical position of Phenicia at the easternmost end of the Mediterranean Sea between Egypt and Assyria, made her the natural channel of communication between the oriental and the Greek world, so that we are not surprised to find that a large portion of the Phenician merchant's trading material consisted of copies of the minor productions of Egyptian and Assyrian art.

The Phenician workers in metal were famous, and their beautiful engraved bronze bowls and carved ivory figures teach us both the manner and the matter of the national art ; this was necessarily oriental in character because it grew up under the shadow of oriental art, but when we examine its designs we find that they consist in a skilful juxtaposition of Egyptian and Assyrian "motives" ingeniously combined to form a decorative whole, but not fused into a new and original form ; it is purely imitative, an artistic industry not an art, by turns Egyptian and Assyrian in form, and even Greek when this force had pushed its way to the front, and a curious statuette which comes from a Phenician workshop in Cyprus well represents this admixture of styles (Plate II.). It shows a draped female figure in the pose of the ushabtiu or "answerers" of Egyptian funeral ritual and belongs to a period when Greek potters were still making formless crescents and cylinders to represent human figures. Technically it is a fine specimen, modelled by hand, retouched, carefully painted and well fired, but artistically it shows a most disconcerting mixture of styles ; the face and pose are Egyptian, so is the attempt at showing the modelling of the body, the turban and long straight robe are Assyrian, and so is the triple necklace, though it is made of lotus buds. It is therefore a fair specimen of the figures which Phenician art made for the Greek market, and shows how incapable it was of presenting to a nation ignorant of oriental art, such a view of the larger monuments as would enable it to form any just idea of their style and technique, and to apply these to its own statues. What it did was to introduce its minor productions to the Greek, and so to

provide him with a series of fantastic forms—gryphons, human-headed birds, winged lions, grotesque dwarfs, etc., with which he clothed his own vague conceptions of the spirits of earth, air and sea, whose power for evil was ever present to his mind. These forms he used to decorate his pottery, but they were useless to him in the composition of a statue, and therefore Egyptian art, which was known to the early Greek only through a Phenician medium, had little influence on the development of his archaic sculpture, until long after its main features had been determined by other forces.

With Assyrian sculpture, on the other hand, the Greek came into contact also through the kingdom of Lydia, with which from a very early period Ionia had had friendly relations. All that we know of Lydian art shows that it was strongly Assyrian in character, and it was therefore through it that the Greek artist derived his first and strongest impressions of the style and technique of Assyrian sculpture, with its wealth of decorative detail, its technical finish and its hide-bound conventionality of subject and style.

The material with which this oriental element was to combine was twofold, the remains of the civilization known as “Mycenæan,” and the productions of an art of which we find traces in all the early necropoleis of the Ægean islands. One of the main features of “Mycenæan” art is its earnest and careful study of nature, a feature which we also find, though in a much more primitive form, in the art of the Greek race indigenous to the Ægean islands, for specimens of which we must have recourse to terracotta statuettes.

At Troy, in the earliest Cypriote graves, in the *præ-Phenician* settlement at Ialysos in Rhodes, and in many other places, we find formless little idols made by flattening out a piece of clay, pinching it in at the neck, moulding a knob on the top with a point for a nose and a gash for a mouth, and adding two fins for arms (see cut on p. 15). This is the primordial statuette; whenever the potter is thrown on his own resources for a rendering of the human figure he produces it, and it is interesting because the sculptor in making a statue of a divinity proceeded in just the same way. The Greek gods, unlike all the Assyrian and many of the Egyptian, were always anthropomorphic; but though the Greeks imagined their divinities

in human shape, they, like many other nations, worshipped them under the form of stones or of trees. When the tree died and was cut down, the trunk lopped of its branches presented a certain rough resemblance to a human figure, and from worshipping it as the abode of a divinity, to trying to cut it into his or her form, is but a small step, and the earliest Rhodian terracotta figures show us that this was done by roughly carving the head and face while leaving the body still imprisoned in the tree trunk. In this statue the divinity had his home, and so we are told that before the fall of Troy the gods, knowing that the city was doomed, picked up their statues and carried them away! The slow and laborious process by which the artist, first in wood and then in stone, freed the limbs of his statue from the mass in which they were imprisoned, moved first a foot and then an arm, and finally attacked the difficult problem of rendering the drapery of a figure and the broken folds produced by motion, his naïve attempts to put expression into the face, are all shown in a series of marble statues from Delos, now in the museum at Athens, and are reflected faithfully in the archaic statuettes. His art was a fusion of oriental types by the qualities which he had inherited from his Greek ancestry, the desire for truth and for the study of nature, and in this sense it was oriental in its origin, but the Greek artist was never content to use the types of oriental art until he had modified them to suit his own taste; he did not, like the Phenician, "convey" them *en bloc* with no comprehension of their meaning, and he had this advantage over his oriental *confrère*, that his gods were human in form and spirit, and he was thus early driven to the study of the human figure and the human face with all their grace of movement and variety of expression.

The widespread diffusion of the same type of statue through the Greek world ceases to be a matter for surprise when we consider that its art grew up among communities of the same race, all exposed in a greater or less degree to oriental influence, and all in constant communication with each other, so that the efforts of several centres of production were concentrated on the evolution of one type. The island schools busied themselves with the male figure, which is nude, while the feminine types with their elaborate drapery and rather

full, rounded features, showing stronger oriental influence, were the especial achievement of the Ionian cities whose position brought them more immediately into contact with it. Owing to ritual reasons the potters copied only the feminine types, and it is these which appear in the two statuettes from Cameiros in Rhodes, which are represented in Fig. 9 and Plate II.

The type of the seated figure appears in sculpture in the sixth century, in the statues of the Branchidæ family from the Sacred Way to the temple of Apollo at Miletus,¹ but the statuette differs from them in sex, and in wearing the high head-dress which belonged to divinities. The collection of Rhodian statuettes in the British Museum, which is of unrivalled completeness and extent, contains no less than six variations of the type, showing its gradual modification until it ends in the figure which was the supreme effort of the Rhodian potter towards the end of the fifth century (Fig. 10). The high head-dress has gone, the Ionic tunic and veil are replaced by the Doric dress, with its folds and drapery carefully worked out, the disproportionately long arms are shortened, and the hands now lie idly in the lap, the face has lost its fixed smile, and has assumed rather a pensive expression, while the whole figure retains only just so much archaism as is necessary to establish its connection with its prototype.

We can also trace the standing type through all its different phases, amongst which the figure on Plate II. occupies a middle position. The angular lines of the lower part of the statuette, the stiff position of the left foot, the timid rendering of the transverse folds, recall the time when the sculptor was still struggling to disengage his figure from a block of wood or marble, and the figure has a curious reminiscence of the tree origin of the statue in the way in which the drapery spreads out at the feet like the roots of a tree; the latest member of the series corresponds to the seated lady in type of face, dress and the rather studied elegance with which she holds out the folds of her drapery.

These are, however, only artistic modifications introduced into types whose integral form was fixed by the end of the sixth century, and which down to the end of the fifth represent a feminine divinity whose presence in the tomb was due to a desire to protect the dead from evil

¹ British Museum, Archaic Room, Nos. 7—16.

influences, but who at this period had neither a special name, nor any very definite functions.

Deep seated in the mind of every primitive people there is an instinctive idea of the Earth-mother, the principle of fertility, the type of continual birth and death, and therefore when they wish to express this idea in a concrete form, they choose a woman for their type. The Assyrians called her Astarté, and represented the reproductive powers of the earth by a coarsely symbolical nude figure; the Greeks chose for this purpose the draped type which was the conventional rendering for a female figure, and indicated her godhead by adding the high head-dress reserved for divinities, but neither Greek nor Assyrian would have any difficulty in recognizing their own gods under another form, for the beliefs of polytheism are too vague and indefinite to be crystallized into a shape which would exclude all representations of a divinity but one. Thus the cultus image of Athéné worshipped at Lindos in Rhodes, was a Phenician idol, in whom the Greeks recognized some traits of their own goddess, and therefore when they expelled the Phenicians from the island they maintained the worship of their divinity under the name of Athéné Telchinia.

This vagueness of thought is reflected in the statuettes, which when found in tombs have a natural reference to the underworld character of the goddess-mother and her power of protection there, as in the upper world, therefore in time they are connected with the goddess Deméter, who as the Earth-mother had always such functions, but who became more particularly the underworld goddess, when the legend of the rape of Persephoné and her sway among the dead as the bride of Hades had been shaped into words. In time the two goddesses ousted all other divinities from the underworld cycle, and endowed with their own personality not only the feminine statuettes, but also the female masks (*oscilla*) which were hung on the walls of the tombs (Fig. 12). In their origin these are derived from the Egyptian coffins, the upper part of which is moulded in the likeness of the head and shoulders of the dead. The Greeks, misled by their beardless faces, and knowing them only in rough Phenician copies, turned them into female busts, and adapted them to the representation of a veiled goddess, while in time their truncated form, which gave

them the appearance of rising from the earth, connected them with the Persephoné myth. They vary in height from three inches to two feet, and show every stage of archaic art.

The preponderance of female figures among the archaic statuettes is directly due to the fact that the underworld divinities were feminine; the small number of types is due to the indefiniteness of idea underlying the conception of these divinities, for there was no necessity to differentiate the figures when the personality was so vague. The standing and the seated figures have no necessary difference of meaning; the standing type is usually, from its elegance, connected with the name of Aphrodité, but at the period at which it was evolved, Aphrodité is only another name for the Earth-mother's reproductive power, of which the young leveret in the hands of our statuette is a sign (Plate II.).

Side by side with the archaic feminine figures we find masculine ones of an entirely different character, but fulfilling the same protective duties. The Greeks were deeply impressed with the idea that only the good could be beautiful, so though they imagined the underworld divinities in human form, they clothed the underworld spirits, who were malignant in character, in the grotesque shape of those oriental figures with which Phenician art had made them familiar. The two commonest types are those of a nude, beardless, crouching figure, which is derived from the Egyptian god Bès (Fig. 11), and a bearded one, based on Seilenos, an Assyrian hunter-demon. In Egyptian ritual, statuettes of Bès were a symbol of joy, and were thus often used to form little perfume bottles, so that our Greek statuette has had a vase mouth placed on it, in imitation of the original model, though there is no corresponding hole in the figure. The beardless type is particularly common in Rhodian tombs, but in Greece proper the bearded Seilenos is the favourite amulet and appears in the slightly modified form of an elderly man with shaggy hair and beard, and in Italy it takes the form of a little satyr mask (Plate IV.). Its popularity led to the Seilenos being included in the train of the god Dionysos when the latter assumed an underworld character through his mystic connection with Deméter and Persephoné, but his individuality was then merged in that of the satyr, and regaining his

woodland character he lost his protective one, so that in the fifth century the grotesque figures disappear almost entirely from the tombs and leave the field to the feminine types. A modification had in the meantime taken place in the shape in which the latter appear, but it was purely artistic and did not affect their meaning, and was the consequence of the great manifestation of energy in art, as in every other way of life which followed the Persian wars.

At the beginning of the fifth century a change took place in the Greek world ; during the sixth the centre of the world had shifted westward across the *Æ*gean Sea to the towns of continental Greece, Corinth, Argos, Sikyon and Athens, whose wealthy rulers attracted to their courts all that was most brilliant and talented in the Greek world. With the defeat of the Persians, Athens, which had taken the lead in the national defence, leaped at once into the foremost place. She had suffered most at the hands of the foe, her city was destroyed and had to be rebuilt, hence it was to Athens that the sculptors and artists of the day flocked, and there grew up there a school of taste which for the next fifty years set the artistic tone for the rest of the Hellenic world.

Its influence is shown in the fifth-century statuettes which, from whatever part of the Greek world they come, from Athens (Plate III.), Rhodes (Fig. 10), or Cyprus (Fig. 13), all have the grandeur of conception, the nobility of design and purity of outline which we find in the sculpture of the time ; they have lost whatever air of stiffness their hieratic character gave them, and in its place they display a certain dignity and reserve which makes the graceful abandon of the figures of the next century look slightly vulgar. Part of the additional charm of the fifth-century figure is certainly due to a change in dress from the Ionian tunic (Plate II.) to the Dorian (Fig. 16), a change which was one of the consequences of the Persian wars. How far or for how long patriotic feeling led the women to make the change in private life, we do not know, for in the fourth century they had reverted to the Ionian tunic (Fig. 21), but sculptors clothed their figures in the Dorian garment, whose heavy drapery with its perpendicular and transverse folds afforded charming effects of light and shade.

We have good examples of the modification which the seated goddess figure underwent in two statuettes, one from Athens (Plate III.), and one

from Cyprus (Fig. 13), both of which show the more elaborate and ornate style of the period.

Incidentally both bear witness to the greater precision of thought of the age, for though they differ only in the position of the left arm, this slight difference suffices to show that the one (Plate III.) is Artemis, the other (Fig. 13), Aphrodité.

The potter has been constrained by hieratic conventions to seat his Artemis on a high throne with her feet on a footstool, to place a high coronet on her head, and to tuck her symbol, a fawn, in a very uncomfortable position under her left arm, but satisfied that these concessions allow of no doubt that the figure is not only a goddess, but the goddess Artemis, he has rendered her long tresses and full, soft hair in a free style, he has painted her coronet with honey-suckle pattern, and has lavished a wealth of decoration on her throne and footstool. The same elaboration of detail is seen in the Aphrodité (Fig. 13), which comes from the Cypriote town of Kittion (Larnaca), a centre which produced some charming figures when, as in this case, it was inspired by Athenian types, but was not so successful in its unaided efforts. The potter has indicated the divinity of his figure by the same adherence to the conventional attitude and accessories, but the high head-dress is covered with ornament, the legs of the throne are in the form of sphinxes, and even the outstretched dish is elaborately embossed; the coquettish action with which the goddess holds her shawl together beneath her chin identifies her with Aphrodité, the chief goddess on the island, for a statue of her in precisely the same attitude is shown on a coin of Nagidos, in Cilicia.¹ The novelty in this figure is the coquettish treatment of the drapery, and a comparison with any of the fourth-century genre types shows how slight the barrier was between the two. Religious conservatism led to the preservation of existing archaic hieratic types, which were made down to the end of the Pagan era, but no new ones were invented after the fifth century, and as a class they decline rapidly in number and importance, giving place to other feminine figures whose indefiniteness is so complete that they are known to Greek writers only as "maidens." With these appear in ever-increasing number mythological figures and figures drawn from real life.

¹ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xix. Pt. I. p. 164.



ARTEMIS.
Brit. Mus. B. 358.



ROS CARRYING OFF KEPHALOS.
Brit. Mus. B. 219.

It must not, however, be supposed that in the archaic period the potter busied himself exclusively with hieratic figures. A series of archaic reliefs of very delicate sixth-century workmanship, which from their fragile character must have been made to decorate some solid object like a box, deal entirely with subjects drawn from legend or from real life. One of these represents the goddess Eôs (the Dawn) carrying off Kephalos (Plate III.), a beautiful shepherd youth with whom she fell in love as he was hunting at break of day on Mount Hymettus. The artist's power of design is hardly on a level with his technical skill, and the group shows a curious archaic convention, by which the human figure is represented as very much smaller than the divine one, but the truth of rendering in the wind-blown drapery and hurrying figure shows that the picture is based on a direct study of nature, just as much as the other reliefs of the series which depict such scenes from real life as a man and woman conversing (British Museum, B. 317).

Besides these reliefs there are a number of small vases in statuette form, the subjects of which are drawn from real life and depict male and female busts, mythological persons and animals, while one whole series from Athens is in the form of a foot in its sandalled shoe. In addition to these vases and reliefs, the potter made dolls (Fig. 2) and toys (Plate IV. and Fig. 1) for the children, and there are many little groups representing scenes from real life, such as a woman cooking (Fig. 3), all roughly but cleverly modelled and wonderfully true to nature: the suggestion of effort with which this little woman rolls out her paste is very well given, and her paste-board and rolling-pin might be the basis of a dissertation on ancient kitchen utensils.

It will thus be seen that there was always a non-hieratic side to the potter's work based on the direct study of nature, as opposed to the hieratic side based on a conventional rendering of it; but the distinction between the two was very clearly made until the end of the sixth century. During the fifth the barrier was partially broken down by the introduction of greater grace and beauty into the hieratic types; it was the final elimination of the conventional element, the application to *all* figures of the principles derived from the direct study of life which produced the graceful women, the charming youths and pretty children of the fourth century.

CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENRE STATUETTE

“How oft does taste
Aiming too high, its toilsome efforts waste.”

“Quibus addere plura
Dum cupid, ah, quotiens perdidit auctor opus.”—MARTIAL, xiv. 115.

THE modifications of form introduced into the hieratic statuettes by the influence of Attic art did not affect their meaning as long as they retained any vestige, however slight, of their hieratic character, but were in a great measure responsible for their disappearance. In the gradual process of humanizing which continued throughout the fifth century, the divinities lost the conventional attributes of their godhead, and it was expressed by superhuman beauty, grace, and dignity rather than by outward symbols. To represent this distinction between the divine and the human, to treat a human model in such a way as to turn it into a divinity, requires the talent of a great artist; it is beyond the powers of a potter, and therefore his feminine divinities, when they become beautiful women in outward appearance, become women in nature; they merge the goddess in the woman, and forget that they ever had any hieratic meaning or function.

As the potter drew more and more of his inspiration from the direct study of real life he was able to widen his horizon, and henceforth his productions are not entirely confined to feminine figures, though these still predominate; male figures appear and figures drawn from legend, and there are even imitations of celebrated statues. His studies from life, however, fall into two clearly marked divisions, the realistic presentation of the individual and the idealistic presentation of the type: the

realistic deals with those figures which are concerned with the material or commonplace side of life; cooks, nurses, old men and women; the idealistic on the other hand deals with its cultivated and charming side, and its figures are chosen for their beauty, youth and grace. In the fourth and third centuries, while Greece still held sway in the world of art, these latter maintained their position in the potter's world, but with the decline of Greece, when the centre of civilization passed to the Hellenistic courts of the semi-oriental rulers of Asia Minor and Egypt, the realistic figures acquire a gradually increasing importance and finally oust the idealized types, as these had ousted the hieratic.

The figures with which we have now to deal mark the highest point which the potter reached, and then his gradual falling away from his own high standard of excellence. In the fourth century he attained to such technical and artistic perfection as his material allowed, and then partly owing to a change of taste, partly to the decay of material prosperity in Greece, his craft died out, and by the end of the third century was practically extinct there.

At the close of the fifth century Athens, in spite of her political misfortunes, is still the centre of artistic influence, and we see in the Athenian statuettes of this period a decided tendency to the adoption of sculptural types, not based on the direct imitation of particular statues, but inspired by the general influence of the many beautiful works of art contained there. In point of type the earliest is the standing maiden (Fig. 16),¹ whose attitude with the whole weight falling on one leg recalls that of the Caryatids of the Erechtheion, though the position of the arms is different, and our figure seems to be lifting them above her head as if to place a burden on it. The potter has carefully worked out and retouched all the details of his figure so as to give full effect to the soft, thick hair, the delicately-rounded features, the contrasting folds of the fine under-dress and the thick robe over it, and even the elaborate necklace, and has thus produced a composition which gives a perfect idea of the combination of delicacy of finish and largeness of conception of Attic art. A figure of Athéné (Fig. 14) presents it to us under another form, as inter-

¹ This figure is in the possession of Cecil H. Smith, Esq., to whom I am indebted for permission to publish it.

preted in a foreign workshop, which has deprived it of its technical perfection, but has not been able to obscure the noble idea which underlies the composition. The figure is a Cypriote cast from an Athenian mould and is a very rough and clumsy production, but this roughness and clumsiness cannot hide the dignified simplicity of the whole and the skill with which the qualities of a statue have been transmitted to a statuette. We see before us the goddess to whom the Athenians prayed,¹

“Pallas Athena, mighty protectress,
Shield us from storm and stress,
Guard thou this folk and state
From civic strife and fierce debate.
Thou and thy sire, thy servants save
From doom of an untimely grave.”

Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.

A certain amount of interest attaches to the copy, because the goddess holds her helmet in her hand, and it is suggested this was the attitude of the celebrated Athené Lemnia of Pheidias, a statue so fair that when a Greek art critic was composing a figure “compact of every statue’s best,” he took the oval of her face and her grace of expression for his “beauty.”

The technical skill of the Athenian potter is shown by the nude youth on Plate VI., and the dainty grace which he imparted to his less ambitious productions by a figure of a school-boy (Plate IV.), and by two little toys, one a boy riding on a swan (*Ibid.*), and the other a man on a mule (*Ibid.*).

In the middle of the fourth century the centre of interest shifts from Athens further north to the district which lies between the island of Eubœa and the Corinthian Gulf, and which comprises Eretria, Aulis, the cities of Bœotia and of the Opuntian Locri. During the whole of the fifth century Bœotia was under a cloud owing to its unpatriotic conduct during the Persian wars, and in

¹ Παλλὰς Τριτογένει' ἄνασσ' Ἀθηνᾶ,
ὅρθον τίνδε πόλιν τε καὶ πολίτας
ἄτερ ἀλγέων καὶ στάσεων
καὶ θανάτων ἀώρων σύ τε καὶ πατήρ.

BERGK³, *Poetæ Lyrici Græci*, Scholia 2; Frag. 1287.



TOY.

Brit. Mus. B. 271.



TOY.

Brit. Mus. B. 270.



SATYR MASK—AMULET.

Brit. Mus. B. 479.



ATHENIAN BOY.

Brit. Mus. C. 334.



BOY WITH KNUCKLEBONES.

Brit. Mus. C. 324.

addition to this, Attic wit fastened on its inhabitants a reputation for clumsiness, stupidity and general coarseness of appetite. Nothing that we know of Bœotia justifies this reputation, for Pindar was a Bœotian, and so were the celebrated poetesses Corinna and Myrinna, who were his contemporaries, while the Bœotian fourth-century statuettes reveal a delicate fancy which we should imagine could hardly have emanated from an uncultivated people, or have proved acceptable to them. As the political power of Athens waned, Bœotia gained in consideration, for the cities of Greece were all gradually included in the Macedonian kingdom, and none could triumph over the others when all were conquered.

It is just at this period, in the middle of the fourth century, that the statuettes from Bœotia assume the place of honour which had so far belonged to Athens. This district had always been a centre of vase production, and has yielded every variety of statuette both of archaic and of transition type. The latter are all rather heavy and massive in form, distinguished by high bases and crowns, both moulded in one with the figure, and by an unusual predominance of male figures. It is, however, rather difficult to distinguish the productions of one district from those of another, owing to the general similarity of the clay used and the constant interchange of moulds among the different workshops. In the latter part of the fourth century, when the so-called Tanagra figures acquired such a vogue as to practically monopolize the market for a time, these causes lead to a still greater similarity in the productions of the different districts, and therefore Bœotian types are usually named after the district in which they first appear in any quantity. The name of "Tanagra" has thus been bestowed on a whole series of idealized studies from real life representing youths, maidens and children in every-day costume, engaged in their every-day pursuits, which were first discovered in the graves there.

Tanagra is the centre of a district which, even in the second century A.D., was still "a land of potters," and there is no *à priori* improbability in the type having first originated there, though it soon spread not only to all the other workshops in Bœotia, but in Greece, and was extensively copied in Africa and Asia Minor. The phase of art which

these figures represent is that which in sculpture is chiefly associated with the name of Praxiteles. He chose by preference for his statues those subjects in which beauty and grace were the leading features, and while drawing his inspiration from the living model, yet by the selection of its most general and expressive features, produced from it an abstract type which was perfectly true to nature, but more beautiful than any concrete figure. The idealized human types thus created served admirably for figures of the younger gods, Aphrodité, Eros, Apollo and Dionysos, and the Bœotian potter used them to depict the graceful women (Fig. 31), the athletes who "radiant with youth like living statues lounge, decking the streets" (Fig. 28), the pretty children (Plate IV.) who passed daily before his eyes, and he was so charmed with his human models that even when he wished to represent the denizens of the air, the graceful attendant spirits who play so large a part in Greek imagery (Chapter VII.), he drew them as semi-nude maidens (Plate VIII.) and as winged children (Plate V.), differing only in their nudity and their wings from the maidens and children of every-day life.

Part of the attraction of these figures lies in their human interest, but part is due to the perfection of their technique and the care and skill with which they were retouched, so that the details are rarely smudged or blurred as in most of the earlier figures (see Chapter II.). Their greater freedom of gesture and of pose, owing to the employment of several moulds, which allowed the potter to represent more complicated attitudes, is also part of their charm. Their only fault is that they are rather monotonous, because they represent a type, not an individual, but that is the fault of the period, not of the potter.

In his treatment of his favourite types there is no brusque breaking away from past traditions but only a modification of them, in accordance with the spirit of the age; his athletes, save in the greater freedom of their attitude, differ very little from the youthful male figures of Locri or Thebes, whose slightly hieratic attitude obliges us to call them Hermes or Ganymede instead of Konnaros or Philochares; it requires only a very little modification to transform the figure of a seated goddess, shrouded in her mantle, with her hand muffled in the

folds of her drapery (Fig. 13), into a Tanagra lady gracefully wrapped up in her shawl and holding its folds together coquettishly (Fig. 20); deprived of her hieratic accessories, her throne, her high head-dress and her sacrificial bowl, with a pointed hat on her head and a fan in her hand, the goddess would differ little from the woman.

Imitations of Tanagra types occupied a large place in the stock of other centres of production, and it is interesting to compare these with their models. The winged children of Tanagra, the little Erotes (Plate V.) who dance along on tip-toe, are among the most graceful and original of their productions, and the prototypes of all the floating figures so common in later workshops (Plate VII.). With these we may compare another child Eros from Ægina, muffled in a cloak with a large wreath on his head, and wielding an enormous feather fan of oriental type, quite different from the ordinary ivy-leaf fan of Tanagra figures (Plate V.). He differs from them, too, in being of a heavier, more human build, and in not having just that touch of spirituality which is their distinguishing characteristic. That is the point in which the imitations differ from the originals in most centres; when the workman did not content himself with reproducing the type, but attempted to modify it, his work is more human and less graceful.

He did not, however, confine himself entirely to these reproductions, and some of the figures assigned to other centres are extremely interesting, notably those from Eretria, which is especially distinguished for a taste for greater definiteness of subject showing itself in the choice of legendary subjects (Plate VI.), and of character studies from real life, the pictorial character of which proves that they belong rather to the second than the first half of the third century. It is present even in their imitations of Tanagra types (compare Fig. 17 with Fig. 20), and finds full scope in such subjects as a school-master teaching a boy to write (Fig. 26), or the Nereid bearing the helmet of Achilles (Fig. 32).

Among the figures of undoubted Eretrian provenance is a mask of Pan (Fig. 15) found in the "Tomb of Aristotle,"¹ which is especially interesting because it embodies those qualities of simplicity and breadth

¹ In the Central Museum at Athens. I am indebted to the Ephors, and to the discoverer, Dr. Waldstein, for permission to publish it.

of design which are inseparable from good work in clay. The material has its limitations—it is well able to reproduce the main features of a design, to suggest its outlines and the idea it contains, but it is not suited to the reproduction of minute detail. The charm of most of the Greek statuettes arises from the potter's knowledge of these limitations, which led him in making his figures to eliminate all unnecessary detail, and only to render the broad masses and outlines of his model. Of this broad treatment the little Pan mask is an admirable example ; the potter had to suggest the woodland character of the god and his shaggy goat form, and therefore the pointed ears, the shaggy eyebrows and knotted forehead melt insensibly into the little horns, the horns into a fringe of hair with leaf-like locks. The lines of the forehead and the snub nose run down through the long pendent moustachios into the goat-beard, and the whole face is set in a frame of shaggy hair ; there is no attempt at special treatment of any separate part of the composition, no insisting on details which might distract the eye, and therefore the design produces its full effect and suggests the dual character of the god better than another Eretrian statuette, a full-length portrait of him (Plate VI.) in which all the details of horns, pointed ears and goat legs are carefully worked out. The striving after effect seen in most of the Eretrian figures is not peculiar to them, for we find it in a late Athenian statuette (Fig. 22) of a lady poised an apple, and in a Corinthian one (Plate I.). It was the means by which the potters tried to keep in touch with the taste of the age, and it is to this desire also, that is due the prominence assigned to the uglier members of the Dionysiac cycle, the Satyrs and Seileni.

In a previous age the Seilenos under the type of a nude bearded elderly man with pig's ears, was used as an amulet (page 28) and thus came into contact with the underworld god Dionysos. Dionysos had, however, another character as a woodland divinity, in whose train were Pan, the nymphs and the satyrs. The satyr was also a bearded nude male figure, and with him Seilenos was confounded, while the satyr took over the protective character of Seilenos, and guarded the infant god from harm. This legend is referred to in two statuettes ; in one (Fig. 36) the Seilenos pedagogue is taking his charge to school, and in another (Fig. 35), the satyr is shown carrying him on one arm, and



EROS WITH A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT.

Brit. Mus. C. 192.



EROS WITH A FAN.

Brit. Mus. C. 40.

teasing him with a bunch of grapes.¹ The contrast between the native ugliness of the satyr and the childish grace of the little god is well expressed, but the group is rather clumsy and heavy, both in technique and style, and contrasts unfavourably with another satyr portrait, which represents him playing on the double flute (Fig. 34). This figure is from Melos, an island which was celebrated for its pottery from a very early period in Greek history; all its productions are marked by great technical perfection in kneading, moulding and firing the clay, and by a certain dryness and sharpness of outline which recalls bronze technique. The figure is modelled back and front, the pelt of the satyr is incised, not given by the mould, and special pains have been taken that no detail of the figure shall fail of its effect, probably because statuettes dealing with a definite legend are extremely rare, and the artist wished to make his story quite clear.

There is no violent break between the figures found in Greece proper and those of the Hellenistic world, for at Myrina, a town in Asia Minor, to which the interest shifts, a considerable number of imitations of Tanagra types were found (Fig. 27), some very exact, others rather rough and heavy, but the Myrina potters soon advanced beyond the stage of imitation, and it is in this centre that we first find a profusion of the winged floating youths and maidens whose popularity rivalled that of the Tanagra figures, and it is here that we follow out the gradual cleavage of the statuettes into two distinct groups; the mythological, which engross all the beauty of the series, and the genre, which rapidly develop into caricatures. The mythological figures belong to that cycle of youthful divinities to which the Praxitelean school had given such prominence, Aphrodité, Dionysos and Eros, for in the Asiatic cities the cult of Aphrodité and Dionysos, in whose train came Adonis, Atys and other local heroes, assumed an importance which threw all other divinities into the shade, and supplied the potter with a variety of subjects, not only mythological but hieratic, for he was not exempt from the necessity of producing hieratic figures.

Eros appears in two forms, but in neither case as a god, either as a winged youth, who with his feminine pendent Niké is merely a member

¹ The provenance of this statuette is unknown, but both clay and technique point to Asia Minor as its home.

of Aphrodité's train, or as a mischievous boy (Fig. 8), that cruel Eros whose pranks the Hellenistic epigrammatists bewailed so prettily. In this character he is frequently engaged in burning a butterfly (*Psyché*), but the group can have no reference to the legend of Cupid and *Psyché* which is of much later origin.

The statuettes of Myrina are remarkable for the extent and variety of their types, and among them are every variety of floating and dancing figure posed with wonderful freedom and grace. These floating figures mark a phase of Hellenistic art which began with the little Erotes of Tanagra, and inspired a charming figure of a dancing-girl (Plate VII.), which though found in Greece is more closely connected with Asiatic than with Greek statuettes, both by its technique, its type of face, and its style. A certain number of copies of famous statues are found, chiefly of Aphrodité, but these are less numerous than at Smyrna, where the potters were chiefly occupied in making copies of bronze statuettes, which were frequently gilt to represent metal, just as at the same period the vase maker silvered his embossed cups and bowls.

The figures from every-day life are all drawn from the artisan or actor class, and are remarkable for the vividness with which they are modelled. As a rule these figures are not retouched and the potter relied rather on the general effectiveness of his work than on its technical perfection of detail, though on occasion he could retouch as cleverly as the Tanagra potter. The principal features of his style are its decorative and pictorial character, the figures are rounder and fuller, their features softer, their attitudes more conscious than in the Greek work of the preceding age (Fig. 19), the contrasts between the nude forms and the drapery are more insisted on, and we are confronted with an art of a more assertive and realistic type.

We find the same characteristics in the Sicilian and Italian terracottas, for there were no such barriers in the Hellenistic world as had formerly divided the cities of Greece; individualism had died out, and had given place to a monotonous uniformity of thought, of feeling and of taste, and the same subjects, mythological and genre, appealed to Italian and to Asiatic alike. The mythological figures are all taken from the Aphrodité cycle, copies of statues of the goddess (Fig. 18), graceful winged feminine (Figs. 4 and 5) and masculine

types, and figures of a boy-Eros (Plate VIII.). The genre figures are all caricatures and drawn from the same class of subject; the full type of face, the strong contrast between nude and draped forms, are found in both places.

But in spite of the similarity of the subjects chosen there is a certain difference in the way in which they are treated; the winged figures do not float, they stand, or rather lean against a pedestal, in an attitude common among Tanagra figures which borrowed it from Praxitelean art. This attitude necessitates a somewhat different arrangement of drapery: instead of a short tunic girdled round the waist and floating in the air, the Italian figures are swathed in a heavy mantle, which leaves the upper part of the body bare but falls in massive folds to the ground and forms a base for the figure, which thus assumes a more statuesque pose. It results from this that while the Asiatic types are the more dramatic and ornate in character, the Italian and Sicilian ones are more simply conceived and so approach more nearly to the traditions of Hellenic art. How far both fall short of them, not only in style but in mere technical skill, is shown by a comparison of three statuettes from Athens (Plate VI.), from Myrina (Fig. 19), and from Canosa (Fig. 18), all of which are reproductions of statues.

The nude youth crowned with flowers, with wine-cup and jug in his hands, is one of those fifth-century conceptions which hover on the confines of the real and the ideal world, and for which it is difficult to find a name; but whether we call him "The Cup-Bearer" or the "Spirit of the Banquet" (page 66), the name can add little to his charm. The slender figure is so perfectly balanced, the feet sink so naturally into the little clay plinth, the still undeveloped body is modelled with such attention to anatomical detail, but no undue insistence on it, the watchful attitude of the willing cup-bearer is so well expressed, that we seem to have before us one of those *plasmata* or sculptor's models of which Pliny speaks as commanding so high a price. The technical skill displayed in firing so fragile a figure is no less remarkable.

With it the Artemis (Fig. 19) from Myrina compares but poorly, for the potter has in proverbial phrase "aimed at perfection and

attained mediocrity," and though the figure is picturesque its general effect is clumsy and wanting in dignity, for he has been more anxious to render all the details of the goddess' equipment and to put her into a striking attitude, than to express her character, and therefore his figure is not the Artemis of whom Homer sang :¹—

“Great Artemis, whose very heart
Is on her arrows set, across some mount
Her path pursues, on steep Taygetus
Or Erimanthus coursing, where in bears
And swiftly fleeing deer is all her joy,—
And ever in her train the rural nymphs
(Those daughters fair of ægis-bearing Jove,)—
Disportive play, and with the scene elate
Latona too, shows gladness, while 'bove all
By a whole head and brow she towers high
Even where all are lovely, instant known.”

Translated by G. MUSGRAVE.

but the Artemis of the Hellenistic epigrammatist :²—

“I am great Artemis, and worthy of the name,
My sire none else than Jove, these looks proclaim.
Confess such maiden vigour here is found
All earth's too narrow for my hunting-ground.”

Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.

The Aphrodité from Canosa (Fig. 18) shows better workmanship, and the potter has cleverly avoided the difficulty of balancing an undraped full-length figure by adopting a crouching position.

The nude Aphrodité of Praxiteles, perhaps the most famous statue in antiquity, is the basis of all the statues of the goddess bathing, wringing the water from her hair, etc.; and in the third century B.C. a Bithynian sculptor, Daidalos, taking the idea from a picture, represented her as a kneeling bather. The type is known to us by many replicas, of which the most famous is one in the Louvre, the so-called “Vénus de Vienne.” In time these copies degenerate into mere toilet scenes from every-day life, but our statuette is distin-

¹ *Odys.* vi. 102.

² Ως πρέπει Ἀρτεμίς εἰμ· εὐ δ' Ἀρτεμιν αὐτὸς ὁ χαλκὸς
μανύει Ζηνὸς, κοῦχ ἐτέρου θύγατρα.
Τεκμαίρον τὸ θράστος τῶς παρθένου. Ἡ δά κεν εἴποις.
Πᾶσα χθῶν ὀλίγον τῷδε κυναγέσιον.—*Anthol. Pal.* xvi. (App. Plan) 158.

PAN, THE HUNTER.

Brit. Mus. C. 282.



THE CUP-BEARER.

Brit. Mus. C. 14.



guished from these by its absence of affectation, and by the noble simplicity of the head and expression. It is these qualities which, though the bodily forms are too heavy and massive for grace, and the limbs somewhat disproportioned, make it no unworthy picture of the goddess.¹

“Thine own fair form’s sweet image take
Than this no choicer offering can I make.”

Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.

In these three statuettes we have a *résumé* of the history of Greek art during the last four hundred years of the Pagan era, of the variations of style and taste through which it passed, and of the phases of thought which dictated them, but a study of the statuettes shows that they have a human interest as well as an artistic one, and as human documents they have much to tell about the manners, customs and beliefs of classical Greece.

¹ Σοὶ μορφῆς ἀνέθηκα τεῆς περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα,
Κύπρι, τεῆς μορφῆς φέρτερον οὐδὲν ἔχων.

LUCIAN, *Anthol. Pal.* xvi. (App. Plan) 164.

CHAPTER V

GENRE STATUETTES OF FEMININE TYPE

“Not such your burden, happy youths, as ours—

Poor women children, nurtured daintily—

For ye have comrades when ill fortune lours,

To hearten you with talk and company ;

And ye have games for solace, and may roam

Along the streets, and see the painters’ shows ;

While woe betide us if we stir from home—

And there our thoughts are dull enough, God knows!”

Translated by WILLIAM M. HARDING.

’Ηϊθέοις οὐκ ἔστι τόσος πόνος ὄππόσος ἡμῖν

ταῖς ἀταλοψύχοις ἔχραις θηλυτέραις.

Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παρέασιν ὄμήλικες, οἷς τὰ μερίμνης

ἀλγεα μυθεῖνται φθέγματι θαρσαλέω.

παίγνιά τ’ ἀμφιέποντι παρήγορα καὶ κατ’ ἀγνιὰς

πλάζονται γραφίδων χρώμασι φεμβόμενοι.

ἡμῖν δ’ οὐδὲ φάος λεύσσειν θέμις, ἀλλὰ μελιθροῖς

κρυπτόμεθα, ζοφεραῖς φροντίστι τηκόμεναι.

AGATHIAS SCHOLASTICUS, Anthol. Pal. v. 297.

To ninety-nine people out of a hundred the interest in any collection of Greek statuettes centres in the dainty little ladies from Tanagra whose acquaintance a delighted world made for the first time about thirty years ago, when they revealed to us a phase of Greek art whose existence we were far from suspecting. Since then their popularity has never decreased, and the reason of it is not far to seek. They are so human in their dainty prettiness that we realize at once that their type of beauty is not the ideal one of the sculptor, but the real one of every-day life. True, the modelling is sometimes sketchy, but the sketchiness is that of a Japanese drawing, not the omission of anything important, but the suppression of the unimportant; for instance, the most interesting part

of the human body is the face, and the heads of these statuettes are treated in a spirit of delicate and refined realism which is only enhanced by the less detailed execution of the other parts of the figure. In this realism lies the secret of their charm ; we see the Greek woman of the upper classes, we learn how she dressed, the shape, colour and fashion of her different garments, and how coquettishly and with what infinite variety she arranged a costume which, in itself, is extremely simple, and whose elements never varied ; and we also learn how she amused herself. Such details are all the more interesting because classical authors tell us so little about her daily life, and the general impression is that we know nothing of it, because she spent her days in the seclusion of which Agathias' epigram (quoted above) gives us so vivid a picture. But why do more than half the Tanagra ladies wear hat and shawl if "they were not allowed to breathe the outer air, and brooding on their own dull thoughts, must stay within" ?

The status of women in Greece varied from century to century and from district to district, just as it has done in other lands. Homer and *Æschylus* probably drew their heroines from life, and neither suggests that they lived in Oriental seclusion ; on the contrary, both represent them as having a dignified position in the household and conversing freely with such strangers as came to their husband's or father's house, but after the Persian wars (B.C. 490), and possibly even before, when there was a great influx of Greeks from Asia Minor, Eastern ideas as to the propriety of secluding women seem to have crept in, especially in Athens. It is, however, quite clear that even there the restraining power was public opinion, not physical force.

It must be borne in mind that our impressions of Greek life and custom are mainly derived from one epoch in the history of one state, the sixty years in the history of Athens which has been aptly named her "Imperial period" (B.C. 470-410). Athens was then the centre of the world, her streets were thronged with a motley crowd of Greek and foreign sailors and traders, and an Athenian gentleman may have been well justified in thinking that his woman-kind were better at home, except when they were taking part in religious processions and ceremonies, where custom protected them from insult. These functions afforded a fair number of outings, but they gave no opportunity of

meeting the other sex, for a Greek lady was entirely restricted to the society of her own or her husband's immediate male relations, and for a male friend, however intimate, to enter a house when the master of it was absent, would have been considered a wanton insult.

It must also be remembered that the remarks of Athenian authors only refer to the women of the noble and wealthy classes, and to dwellers in towns. Prior to the Peloponnesian war, most wealthy Athenian families lived on their estates in Attica, and only came into Athens when their presence was required there. Xenophon, in his treatise, *The Householder*, mentions amongst the advantages of a country life, "that it is so much more pleasant for the wife;" and Demosthenes draws a pretty picture of the excellent relations which had formerly existed between the mothers of two litigants, when they used to meet in the evening, and sit spinning and chatting in the fields, "as they naturally would, being neighbours in the country, and their husbands good friends."¹

The object of quoting these passages from Athenian authors is to show that by using the terracotta statuettes as the basis of this account of a Greek lady's life and habits, a truer *general* view of the subject can be obtained than by emphasizing the peculiar local conditions of life at Athens, which was undoubtedly more restricted, though rather in the direction of separation from the man's life than in entire seclusion at home. At the close of the first years of the Peloponnesian war, Pericles delivered a funeral oration at Athens in honour of the slain, in which occurs this passage addressed to their widows:—"Your greatest glory is not to fall short of the standard set up for your sex, and she is best, whose name is least spoken of among men, either for praise or for blame."² This would certainly have missed its effect had the widows not been present to hear it; undoubtedly they were, *in a place apart*, and that represents the Athenian, and in a lesser degree, the Greek view of what was becoming in a woman, to live modestly and discreetly in the background of a man's material life, a faithful guardian of his house and gear, leaving him free to seek abroad among his own sex the companionship and mental stimulus which she could not give.

Judged by the standards of the present day, the life of a Greek woman

¹ Demosthenes *contra Kalliclen*, 23.

² Thucyd. ii. 45, 2.

was dull and monotonous, but we should pass the same verdict on an English country gentlewoman's life a hundred years ago—a round of household cares and duties, broken only by domestic anniversaries and religious ceremonies.

One of the most important duties of the women was the preparation of the clothing of the household, no light matter when every web of cloth had to be carded, spun, and woven at home. Theocritus¹ sang the

“Blithely whirling distaff, azure-eyed Athéné's gift
To the sex, the aim and object of whose life is household thrift.”

Translated by CALVERLEY.

and though one poet hurled an angry epigram at “wool which makes women grow old” a Greek lady was proud of her skill in spinning and weaving, and claimed for herself the lines in which Theocritus sang of Helen,²

“And who into the basket e'er
The yarn so deftly drew;
Or through the mazes of the web
So well the shuttle threw,
And severed from the framework
As closely woven a warp,
As Helen, Helen in whose eyes the loves for ever play”

Translated by CALVERLEY.

Spinning, weaving and embroidery were the most important items of a Greek girl's education, which was conducted entirely at home, and therefore restricted to such accomplishments as her mother could teach her, music, singing and probably a little reading and writing; the most important thing, in Xenophon's words,³ being “that she should be brought up to see and hear as little and ask as few questions as possible.” Her marriage, which took place at about fifteen, was a

¹ Γλαυκᾶς, ὁ φιλέριθ' ἀλακάτα, δῶρον Ἀθανάσ
γυναιξίν, νύος οἰκωφελίας αἰσιν ἐπάβολος.—THEOC. *Id.* xxviii. 1, 2.

² οὐτε τις ἐσ ταλάρως πανίσδεται ἔργα τοιαῦτα
οὐτ' ἐνὶ δαιδαλέῳ πυκνώτερον ἀτριον ιστῷ
κερκίδι συμπλέξασα μακρῶν ἔταμ' ἐκ κελεόντων

ὡς Ἐλένα, τᾶς πάντες ἐπ' ὅμμασιν ἴμεροί ἔντι.

THEOCRITUS, *Epithalamium of Helen*, 31—37.

³ XENOPHON, *Œconomicus*, vii. 5—7.

matter of arrangement between the relations on either side, and the shy, frightened demeanour of a young wife is well described by an Athenian husband, who told Socrates that when his young wife was "sufficiently *tamed*," he began to ask her questions, and to teach her how to manage the household, because all she knew when she came to him,—and it was all he could expect—was how to take wool and make a dress, and how to apportion the daily spinning tasks to the handmaidens, as she had seen it done in her mother's house. Xenophon is of course referring to life at Athens in the fourth century B.C., and we gain some details as to provincial life from one Dicæarchus,¹ a Greek dilettante whose notes of a tour through Attica and Bœotia in the third century have come down to us. He stayed at Tanagra, where he found much wealth but little display; he praises the uprightness and hospitality of the inhabitants which made it the pleasantest place in Bœotia for a stranger to stay in, though at first it looked a mere heap of lime-washed houses. He passed by Plataæa where the inhabitants lived on the memory of "the brave days of old," thence through well-watered plains to Thebes, a charming place for a summer residence, even though it was hot, because the gardens were the loveliest in Greece. The Theban men had every vice, but the women! there was nothing Bœotian about them, nay! they were like the women of Sikyon, so gentle and pleasant were their voices. "Their height, beauty and graceful carriage makes them the fairest and most elegant women in all Greece." Then he notes some details of their dress. "Their method of wearing the shawl over the head is such that only the eyes show, the rest of the face is veiled; this shawl is always white. Their hair is auburn and they wear it twisted up in a knot on the top of the head; the local name of this coiffure is *lampadion* (the torch). Their shoes are thin, cut low, red in colour, and so neatly fitted to the foot that it looks almost bare."

On the whole of this passage the statuettes form a most interesting commentary; we see the tall, graceful Theban lady with her shawl thrown over her head (Fig. 17) and draped closely round her in elegant folds, gracious and pleasant in looks, sometimes with, sometimes without, a hat (Fig. 20) to protect her from the scorching

¹ Dicæarchi, *Descriptio Græciae*, 8—22.

rays of the sun, often bearing a fan with the same object. Until the discovery of the statuettes we were far from suspecting how important an adjunct a fan was to the toilette of a Greek lady, nor did we know the fashion and shape of the big straw hat (*tholia*) which Praxinoë wore when she and Gorgo went to see the Adonis play at Alexandria (page 50).

In the same way the statuettes show us that the ordinary house dress was a long tunic (Fig. 21), with or without sleeves, girdled under the arms, and reaching to the feet ; this garment was usually white, but was often decorated with coloured borders and embroideries. Such a costume was, however, only suited for indoor wear, and on occasions of ceremony a shawl was added, even indoors. Of this we have a charming example in a standing figure with a wreath in her hair, who is draped in a large square shawl of a blue tint (Fig. 31). This shawl was *de rigueur* when a Greek lady walked abroad, and we see in how many and how varied ways it could be worn (Plate I.). According to Dicæarchus, it was always white, but as a rule, those of the statuettes are pink or blue. Another difference is in the shoes, which are of untanned leather with a red sole, and probably, though we do not see them, high red heels. The Theban “lampadion” coiffure frequently occurs (*Ibid.*), and so does a variation of it in which the knot is supported by a shaped band fastened over the forehead (Plate VIII.).

Occasionally, but only occasionally, we find a statuette which seems to possess a definite personality, and to aim at representing not any lady, but some particular lady, and such is the dignified matron (Fig. 22) seated on a rock in one of those shady Theban gardens of which Dicæarchus spoke. Her gala costume, no less than her beauty, remind us of the beautiful Bœotian poetess Corinna, who five times won a prize from Pindar, and who boasted that by her sweet-toned songs she had brought great honour to Tanagra’s white-robed dames, though current gossip ascribed her victory not to her poetry, but to her beauty ! In one hand she poises an apple, the lover’s token.¹

¹ Τῷ μῆλῳ βάλλω σε· σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἔκοῦσα φιλεῖς με,
δεξαμένη τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδοσ·
εἰ δ' ἄρ', ὁ μὴ γίγνοιτο, νοεῖς, τοῦτο αὐτὸ λαβοῦσα
σκέψατ τὴν ὥρην ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιος.

PLATO, Bergk *op. cit.* 619.

“I throw an apple at my fair,
 And if she love me, love me truly,
 She'll guess aright the hidden prayer,
 Accept it, and reward me duly.
 But if—oh! let it not be spoken,
 She have no mind to be persuaded,
 Still let her take the lover's token
 And think how soon it will be faded.”

Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.

Charming and valuable as the statuettes are which deal with the outer aspect of a woman's life, they are still more interesting when they take us into the women's apartments and open for us what otherwise would be a sealed book. We see the little girl dressed in her best, seated on a square stool (Fig. 23), quivering all over with suppressed excitement at the prospect of some outing, perhaps the yearly fair, when toys of all kinds were given to the children. An older maiden strolls in the garden talking to the pet bird cooing on her shoulder (Fig. 21). Birds are not infrequent accessories of the Tanagra figures, whether boys or girls, youths or maidens, and the figure serves to illustrate that fondness for pets to which Greek epigrams so often allude.

Another phase of life, the interchange of visits between neighbours, is amusingly illustrated by the accompanying group of two ladies seated on a sofa (Fig. 27), enjoying a good gossip; it is the plastic representation of the opening scene between “Gorgo” and “Praxinoë” of the *Adoniazusæ* of Theocritus.¹

Praxinoë. Dear Gorgo! you are quite a stranger; I'd almost given you up. Sit down!

Gorgo. I hardly thought to get here alive; such a crush! all sorts and conditions of men, and what a distance away you *do* live now!

P. Oh, well! that tyrant of mine took this hovel, I can't call it a house, at the back of beyond, to keep us apart—it's just like him! Tiresome pest!

G. My *dear!* don't talk like that about your husband before the child. Look! how he's staring! Never mind, Zopyrion, my pet, mama's not talking about dada! Good gracious! he understands! Dear Dada!

P. “Dear dada” had some marketing to do the other day, soda and rouge to get, and if you believe me he brought home salt!

and so on, the gossip being only cut short by the necessity of Gorgo's putting on her shawl and hat to go and see the Adonis show in Alexandria.

¹ *Adoniazusæ*, 1—16.

The koroplastæ did not neglect that most important of persons in a Greek household, the nurse, though being a slave they usually treat her in a spirit of caricature (Fig. 24). Greek writers are loud in condemnation of the custom of entrusting the care of a free-born Greek to a barbarian who could not even speak properly, but in spite of their protests Thracian nurses were in great demand, and the memory of one of these, Cleita, has been preserved to us, by her grateful charge.¹

“To CLEITA.

The child Medeius to his Thracian nurse
This stone, inscribed ‘To Cleita,’ raised in mid high way.
Her modest virtues oft shall men rehearse,
Who doubts it? Is not ‘Cleita’s worth’ a proverb to this day?”

Translated by CALVERLEY.

The tie which bound nurse and nursling was a very close one, and in one of Demosthenes’ orations² the plaintiff explains that after long and faithful service his nurse was set free and married. Long years afterwards her husband died, and she being alone and friendless, turned for help to her foster son, now a married man with children, and “of course I took her in, I could not see my nurse or my pedagogue in want.”

The Bœotian artist treats the nurse in a spirit of caricature, but his attitude to the mother is quite different, and one of the most charming statuettes (Fig. 25) in the collection shows us a graceful young mother in her high-backed chair singing her baby to sleep, perhaps with the cradle-song, which the Greek poet, Simonides, puts into the mouth of Danaë.³

“Sleep on, my babe, I bid thee sleep,
And sleep, thou raging sea;
And sleep, ye countless cruel griefs
Of miserable me.”—*Translated by W. HAY.*

The statuettes which illustrate this account of a Greek woman’s life

¹ Ο μικκὸς τό δ’ ἔτενξε τῷ Θρεῖσσα
Μήδειος τὸ μνᾶμ’ ἐπὶ τῷ ὁδῷ, κηπέγραψε Κλείτας.
ἔξει τὰν χάρων ἀ γυνὰ ἀντὶ τὴνων
ῶν τὸν κώρον ἔθρεψε. τὶ μάν; ἔτι χρησίμα καλεῖται.
THEOC. *Epig.* xviii.

² *Dem. contra Everg et Mnesib*, 55, 56.

³ κέλομαι δ’ ἐνδε βρέφος, εὐδέτω δὲ πόντος
ἐνδέτω δ’ ἄμοτον κακόν.—SIMONIDES, Bergk, *op. cit.* 1131.

and habits do not come only from Tanagra ; some, and those not the least beautiful, are from other parts of Greece, though all are of the type which we associate with the name. It is noteworthy that when the importers did not merely content themselves with a rough reproduction of the graceful figures, their renderings of them have just the touch of character which the Tanagra statuettes lack. A comparison of the two standing figures from Corinth (Plate I.) and from Eretria (Fig. 17) with another (Fig. 20) from Tanagra shows the precise nature of this difference. Both figures are characterized by less delicacy of workmanship and by greater breadth of treatment than their model ; this shows in the firmer pose, the attitude of the head, the arrangement of the drapery, while the Corinthian potter has substituted for the usual thin, rectangular plinth, a high one of columnar form which adds much to the effectiveness of the figure, though it detracts somewhat from its poetry. Just the same difference is shown in the group of two ladies talking together (Fig. 27). It is from Myrina in Asia Minor, and obviously inspired by Tanagra types, but we are immediately impressed with the reality of the scene ; whatever the subject of the conversation, the talkers are engrossed in it, and the group gains immensely in value by the addition of this touch of realism. The Tanagra potter was, however, particularly happy in his rendering of figures or scenes in which gentle grace predominates, and one of his most attractive groups is that of the mother and child which has all the sweet serenity of a mediæval Madonna (Fig. 25), but it is not a matter for surprise that with the growing taste for realism in art, his dainty productions ceased to please and had to give way to a coarser and more human type of figure.

CHAPTER VI

GENRE STATUETTES OF MASCULINE TYPE

“The first of mortal joys is health,
Next beauty; and the third is wealth,
The fourth, all youth’s delights to prove,
With those we love.”—*Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.*

Ὑγιαίνειν μὲν ἄριστον ἀνδρὶ θνατῷ,
δεύτερον δὲ φνὰν καλὸν γενέσθαι,
τὸ τρίτον δὲ πλούτεῦν ἀδόλως
καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἡβᾶν μετὰ τῶν φίλων.

Bergk *op. cit.* 1289.

THE Greek passion for beauty of form led to a cultus of youthful physical beauty and of its fortunate possessors; the beauty of youth, the deformity of age, is the frequent theme of the Greek poets; the pitifulness of growing old, of losing the vigour and freshness of youth, the horror and disgrace of physical decay, impressed the Greek imagination.¹

“The fruit of youth remains
Brief as the sunshine scattered o’er the plains,
And when these shining hours have fled away,
To die were better than to breathe the day.”—*Translated by F. ELTON.*

The sentiment was no late importation into Greek literature, it finds voice even in Homer,² and the crowning argument used by Tyrtæus to incite the Spartan youth to prowess in war, is the cruelty

¹ μίνυνθα δὲ γίγνεται ἡβης
καρπός, ὅσον, τ’ ἐπὶ γῆν κιδόναται ἡέλιος,
αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δῆ τοῦτο τέλος παραμεύψαται ὥρης
αὐτίκα τεθνάμεναι βέλτιον ἡ βίοτος.

MIMNERMUS, Frag. 2; Bergk *op. cit.* 409.

² *Iliad*, xxii. 71 *ff.*

of allowing an elder man to suffer death in battle, a death which would reveal the deformities of age, but which could only bring fresh glory to the beauty of youth.¹

“Leave not our sires to stem the unequal fight,
 Whose limbs are nerved no more by buoyant might.
 Nor lagging backward, let the younger breast
 Allow the man of age (a sight unblessed),
 To welter in the combat’s foremost thrust,
 His hoary head dishevelled in the dust
 And venerable bosom bleeding bare:
 But youth’s fair form, though fall’n, is ever fair,
 And beautiful in death the youth appears,
 The hero youth who dies in blooming years.”

Translated by T. CAMPBELL.

This idea is so characteristically Greek, so interwoven with the fibre of Greek life and thought, that it would be strange if the potter had not given expression to it. Every collection of Tanagra figures contains a certain number of male types, and these almost without exception represent youths under twenty; it is only very rarely that we find the portrait of a man of middle age, while old age is usually treated in a spirit of caricature, with special reference to its loss of figure, hair and teeth.

Here again the statuettes afford valuable evidence of contemporary Greek taste and thought, and an interesting commentary on the statements of classical authors about the education and training of the Greek boy.

This was conducted on principles diametrically opposed to those on which his sister was brought up, she entirely at home, he entirely away from it. This absence of family life is the weak point in the Greek social system; a boy was removed from his mother’s care

¹ τοὺς δε παλαιοτέρους ὃν οὐκέτι γούνατ’ ἐλαφρά,
 μὴ καταλείποντες φεύγετε, τοὺς γεραιούς
 αἰσχρὸν γάρ δὴ τοῦτο μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
 κεῖσθαι πρόσθε νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον
 ἥδε λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον
 θυμὸν ἀποπτείοντ’ ἀλκιμὸν ἐι κορίγ
 αἰσχρὰ τάγ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νεμεσητὸν ἰδεῖν
 καὶ χρόα γυμνωθέντα νέοιτι δὲ πάντι ἐπέοικεν
 ὁφρ’ ἐρατῆς ἥβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχῃ.—ΤΥΡΤΑῖΟΣ, Bergk *op. cit.* 398.

when he was about seven, his father's day was passed almost entirely away from home, and tenderly attached to their children as the Greeks were, this tenderness did not lead them to take an intelligent interest in a child's upbringing, in which the parents had little share, for a father who had engaged an efficient attendant and competent instructors for his son had done all that the most exacting theorist could require.

The cause of this curiously detached attitude lies in the radical difference between the ancient and the modern conception of the objects of education. In our view education is directed to the advantage of the individual who belongs to himself, but the ancients sought the advantage of the State, to whom a man belonged.

This theory carried to its logical conclusion would oblige the State to undertake the whole of a boy's education, but save in Sparta, it contented itself with providing him with two years' military training at the age of eighteen, and left his previous studies to private enterprise.

A Greek lad's education therefore fell into two parts: the first from seven to eighteen years of age, the second, from eighteen to twenty. During this latter period it is easy to follow his life, but not so easy to discover how he spent the preceding eleven years in acquiring the very slender amount of knowledge which constituted a liberal education in a world which had not much past of its own, and had not yet learnt to take an interest in the past of "barbarian" nations.

Until he was seven a boy remained in the charge of his mother and nurse, but about that age he passed into the care of an elderly male slave, called a pedagogue, who had no literary duties, but whose function it was to attend him to and from school, and to teach him the ordinary rules of good behaviour—"not to sit with his feet crossed, nor to lean his chin on his hand; not to stare about him in the streets, but to keep his eyes fixed modestly on the ground; how to wear the big cloak which was his outdoor dress (Plate IV.), and how to eat tidily, taking one finger to relishes and sauce, two to bread and fish." The conventional representation of a pedagogue is an elderly man, with bald head, long beard and wrinkled forehead (Fig. 36).

There were three branches of learning—grammar, music and gymnastics; until he was fourteen a boy was principally concerned with the two first-named, but at fourteen he was supposed to have finished his studies in “grammar,” and it was replaced by gymnastics, to which and music, he chiefly devoted his attention during the last four years of his school life.

“Grammar” comprised reading, writing and a little elementary arithmetic. After three years’ instruction the pupil could usually begin to read the poets; his acquaintance with their works was not, however, postponed until he could read them for himself. The great poets supplied the religious influence in Greek life, and a Greek child learnt by heart passages from Homer and Hesiod, as an English child learns passages from the Bible. These were committed to memory from the oral instruction of the teacher, and we now see why education proceeded at so leisurely a pace; there were, of course, no home lessons, for there were no school books, and though a Greek boy had not continuous holidays, there were a sufficient number of public festivals to seriously interrupt the course of study, for during these the schools were closed, and it is recorded as characteristic of a mean man that he did not send his children to school during the month *Anthesterion* because half of it was occupied by public festivals, and he thereby saved a whole month’s school fees!

Besides selections from the works of Homer and Hesiod, a Greek boy had to learn the many popular songs, hymns, catches, dirges and choral odes, knowledge of which constituted a liberal education. Few of these have come down to us, except in quotation, because the greater part of a Greek gentleman’s library was housed in his head, and everybody knew them by heart; one of the finest, the “Song of Harmodios and Aristogeiton,”¹ which was the Athenian National Anthem (“I’ll wreath my sword in a myrtle bough”), is well known in translations to English readers.

We learn from a terracotta statuette how writing was taught (Fig. 26); the teacher traced the letters on the wax-covered surface of a wooden tablet and guided the pupil’s hand over these lines until

¹ Ἐν μύρτου κλαδὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω.

CALLISTRATUS, Frag. 11; Bergk *op. cit.* 1291.

he could form them for himself; he also learnt to write in ink with a reed on papyrus, and as papyrus was expensive, these school exercises are usually written on the back of some other document.

Numbers in Greek are denoted by the letters of the alphabet, differentiated by accents, $\alpha' = 1$, but $\alpha = 1000$, and the Greek boy learnt enough arithmetic to transact the ordinary business of life, but abstract quantities had no fascination for the Greek mind, and the followers of Pythagoras who devoted much time to their study were more concerned with the mystical qualities inherent in them than with their uses and capabilities.

The Greeks attached more importance to the study of music than to any other branch of education. Reading and writing were comparatively late innovations which old-fashioned folk viewed with some disfavour, but choral singing accompanied every public festival: ¹—

“Oh, would I were an ivory lyre!
A lyre of burnished ivory,
That in the Dionysian choir
Beauteous boys might carry me.”

Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.

A hymn was sung at every banquet before the symposion began, and catches, glees, and songs during it. Thus Socrates, to put an end to a discussion which was growing heated, says: ²—“Well! if we are all so eager to be heard at once, what fitter time than now to sing a song in chorus,” and started one, perhaps this by Hybrias the Cretan: ³—

¹ Εἴθε λύρα καλὴ γενοίμην ἐλεφαντάνη
καὶ με καλοὶ παῖδες φέροιεν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν.

Scholia, 19; Bergk op. cit. 1293.

² Xen., *Symp.* 7, 1.

³ Ἐστι μοι πλόντος μέγας δόρυ καὶ ξίφος
καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαισῆιον, πρόβλημα χρωτός.
τούτῳ γὰρ ἀρῶ, τούτῳ θερίζω,
τούτῳ πατέω τὸν ἀδὲν οἶνον ἀπ’ ἀμπέλῳ.
τοίτῳ δεσπότας μνοίας κέκλημαι.

Str. a'.

Τοὶ δὲ μὴ τολμῶντ’ ἔχειν δόρυ καὶ ξίφος
καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαισῆιον πρόβλημα χρωτός.
πάντες γόνν πεπτηῶτες (ἀμφὶ)
ἐμόν . . . (προς)κυνεῦντί (με) δεσπόταν
καὶ μέγαν βασιλῆα φωνεόντες.—*Bergk op. cit. 1295.*

Str. β'.

“ My wealth’s a burly spear and brand,
 And a right good shield of hide untanned
 Which on my arm I buckle.
 With these I plough, I reap, I sow,
 With these I make the sweet wine flow,
 And all around me truckle.

But your wights that take no pride to wield
 A massy spear and well-made shield,
 Nor joy to draw the sword.
 Oh! I bring these heartless, hapless drones
 Down in a trice on their marrow-bones,
 To call me king and lord ! ”—*Translated by T. CAMPBELL.*

Then there were drinking songs :¹—

“ To be bowed with grief is folly,
 Naught is gained by melancholy,
 Better than the pain of thinking
 Is to steep the sense in drinking.”

Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.

and many others, each with its own traditional air, knowledge of which was as necessary as a knowledge of the alphabet, for ignorance showed lack of breeding.

Music included proficiency on some instrument, usually the lyre ; at one time the flute was in fashion, but, besides being ungraceful, it was a solo instrument, and, as such, left to professional artists, the gentleman’s object being merely to accompany himself when he sang.

The amusements of a Greek boy did not differ materially from those of any other boy. We get a list of his favourite toys from a dedicatory epigram, which show that boy tastes have not changed much in two thousand years.²

¹ Οὐ χρὴ κάκοιστι θῦμον ἐπιτρέπην·
 προκόψομεν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀσάμενοι,
 ὃ βύκχι, φάρμακον δ’ ἄριστον,
 οἶνον ἐνεικαμένοις μεθύσθην.

ALCEUS, Bergk *op. cit.* 941 (Schol. 35).

² Εὐφημόν τοι σφαιραν, ἔυκρόταλόν τε Φιλοκλῆς
 Ἐρμείγ, ταιτήν, πιξιέρην πλατάγην,
 ἀστραγάλας θ’ αἷς πόλλ’ ἐπεμήνατο, καὶ τὸν ἐλικτὸν
 ἥρμβον, κουροσύνης παίγνι', ἀνεκρέμασεν.

LEONIDAS, *Anthol. Pal.* vi. 309.

“To Hermes, this fair ball of pleasant sound,
 This boxen rattle full of lively noise,
 These maddening bones, this top well spinning round,
 Philocles offers here, his boyhood’s toys.”

Translated by LORD NEAVES.

And besides these, numbers of toys—jugs, dolls (Fig. 2), cups, carts, animals (Plate IV. and Fig. 1) have been found in the tombs, and one Athenian father mentions that he bought his son a toy cart and horse with his first juror’s fee. Two of our statuettes represent boys in holiday trim, the one wrapped in a huge mantle, with a fillet on his head (Plate IV.), waiting to take part in some festival, the other with a ball in one hand, and a bag of knuckle-bones in the other (Plate IV.), just off to play with a comrade. These knuckle-bones took the place of our marbles in the favour of school-boys, and we learn that one Konnaros won eighty of them as a writing-prize (see page 5).

At about fourteen a boy began his gymnastic training, which included running, leaping, hurling the quoit and throwing the javelin. The gymnasia in which the boys trained were private ones, under private teachers, the public ones being reserved for the ephebi and the older men. At all the great games there were contests for boys, whose victories were duly honoured in song by Pindar and the later lyrists. Among the upper classes at Athens riding was a favourite amusement, and the last four years of the boy’s school life was spent in learning the arts he would have to practise as an ephebe ; he was still, however, under the care of his pedagogue, and the strictest rules were laid down for his behaviour ; the market-place and the law-courts were forbidden ground to him ; he was enjoined not to dawdle in the streets on his way home from school, to observe silence in the presence of his elders, and, in a word, to cultivate that modest and shamefaced reserve which was the crown of virtuous youth.

At eighteen he became a citizen, and entered on his two years’ military training. He doffed the great mantle and fillet, his boy dress, and assumed the traditional dress of the ephebe class, which he had now entered, the chlamys, or short cloak, and petasos, or sun-hat, with which the statuettes have made us familiar (Fig. 28). This was a Thessalian riding costume, and adopted by all Greek states as a fighting or travelling garb. At Athens the chlamys worn on state occasions

was dark, but this was a local fashion, mourning for the last king Kodros of blessed memory, and as a rule it was white or coloured.

The Athenian ephebe was drilled for a year at Athens, then armed publicly with lance and buckler at the shrine of Agraulos, where he swore¹ not to abandon his comrade in arms, to fight for hearth and home and his country's gods, to obey all magistrates and to respect the belief of his ancestors, "so help me Aglauros, Enyalios, Ares, Zeus, Thallō Auxō and Hegemonè." His second year was spent in the frontier guard of which there were two branches, infantry and cavalry, and at its expiration he was free from further service, unless war broke out.

In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. an ephebe was entirely occupied with physical culture ; but in later times he was expected to continue his other studies, and a Greek writer draws the following picture of a well-born youth's day² :—" He rises early from his unluxurious bed, washes away the remains of sleep from his eyelids with pure water, and with his classic cloak fastened on his shoulders by a clasp, he leaves his father's house with downcast eyes, looking at no one whom he meets. He is escorted by a decorous train of servants and pedagogues, who bear after him the honourable material for toil, no ivory combs to smooth his locks, no painted pictures of beauteous objects, no mirrors, but in their stead writing-tablets, volumes which enshrine the value of ancient deeds, and, if he is going to his music-master, his lyre. When his mind is satiated with lessons diligently learnt, he trains his body by liberal exercise ; in peace he practises the arts of war, casting the javelin, and hurling the dart with steady hand. Then come the sports of the palaestra, and under the sun's fierce rays he rolls his body in the dust till the sweat drops from it in the struggle. Next a brief bath and a frugal meal, and then his masters come again, expounding which hero was brave and which prudent, and who was famed for justice, who for temperance. Night puts an end to toil, and recruited by needful food, he enjoys the sound and refreshing slumber which is the reward of hard work."

The statuettes show us this model youth on his way to the palaestra (Fig. 28), strigil and oil-flask in hand. It must not, however, be

¹ STOBÆUS, *Florileg.* 41, N. 141.

² LUCIAN, *Amor.* 44, 45.

supposed that he had no amusements ; of these cock-fighting was one of the most popular ; another statuette shows us a somewhat older youth (Fig. 29), no longer wearing his working-dress, but draped in a mantle of ceremony, with a woollen fillet wreathed with ivy on his head, on his way to a feast with his pet cock under his arm. In addition to the amusements of private life, the young man, as the flower of the state, and therefore most pleasing to the gods, took a prominent part in all festal processions, embassies, etc.

A Greek usually married young, but that made little difference in his way of life, for “for a man to remain indoors, instead of devoting himself to outdoor pursuits is a thing discreditable,” and an Athenian gentleman in the fourth century B.C. gave the following account of his day to Socrates :¹—

“ Why then, my habit is to rise early when I may still expect to find at home this, that, or the other friend whom I may wish to see. Then, if anything has to be done in town, I set off to transact the business and take a walk ; or if there is none, my groom leads my horse on to the farm. I follow, and so make the country road my walk, which suits me as well or better than pacing up and down the colonnade. After I have looked round the farm I generally mount my horse and take a canter. I put him through his paces, avoiding neither slopes, ditches, nor streams, only taking care not to lame him. That done, the groom leads him home, and I return too, partly walking, partly running, and when I get home I have a bath and a rub down, and then I take my midday meal.”

This was rather an exceptional way of life for a townsman, though it must fairly represent the ordinary pursuits of a country gentleman, of whom Fig. 30 gives us an excellent portrait, a burly, rough-looking person in military costume, who would come up to Archilochus’ idea of what a soldier should be.²

¹ Xen. *Economicus*, 11, 14—18.

² Οὐ φιλέω μέγαν στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ διαπεπλιγμένον,
οὐδὲ βοστρύχουσι γαῦρον οὐδὲ ἵπεξυρημένον,
ἀλλά μοι σμικρός τις εἴη καὶ περὶ κνήμας ἰδεῖν
ροικός, ἀσφαλέως βεβηκὼς ποιστέ, καρδίης πλέος.

Bergk *op. cit.* 698.

“Boast me not your valiant captain
 Strutting fierce with measured stride,
 Glorying in his well-trimmed beard and
 Wavy ringlet's measured pride.

Mine be he that's short of stature,
 Firm of foot with curved knee,
 Heart of oak in limb and feature,
 And of courage bold and free.”

Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.

Most dwellers in towns spent the morning in the agora, where they did the household shopping, and in the law courts, where a good deal of time was taken up in the performance of civic duties, and took their exercise in the colonnades.

Afternoon and evening were the hours consecrated to social intercourse; the evening meal was served about sunset, and after it the guests, having offered three libations, sang a hymn such as the following: ¹—

“Pray we or not, great Jove, do thou supply
 All good; all harm, e'en to our prayers, deny.”

Translated by Dr. H. WELLESLEY.

as a prelude to the symposion or drinking-feast, at which they entertained each other with songs, riddles and discussions. On very grand occasions the assistance of professional musicians and dancing-girls was called in. A statuette shows us one of these with balls in her hands (Plate VII.), “and with these in her hands she falls to dancing, and the while she dances she flings them into the air, overhead she sends them twirling, judging the time they must be thrown to catch them as they fall in perfect time.”

Sometimes a symposion was a mere drinking bout, but though we can hardly believe that it was such a “feast of reason and a flow of soul” as Plato and Xenophon suggest, its attraction lay not only in its opportunity for drinking, it was a means of social intercourse. A Greek found no pleasure complete unless “enjoyed with friends,” and his feeling is well expressed in the words of a popular refrain—

¹ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ καὶ εὐχομένοις καὶ ἀνεύκτοις
 ἄμμι δίδοντα δὲ λυγρὰ καὶ εὐχομένων ἀπερύκοις.

Anthol. Pal. x. 108



A DANCING GIRL.

Brit. Mus. C. 286.

“Quaff with me the purple wine,
 And in youthful pleasures join ;
 Crown with me thy flowing hair,
 With me love the beauteous fair ;
 When sweet madness fills my soul,
 Rave thou too, without control ;
 When I’m sober, sink with me

Into dull sobriety.”¹—Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.

Turning from the lessons the statuettes teach us to the statuettes themselves, it will be noticed at once how few they are in comparison with their feminine counterparts, about one in fifteen is the usual proportion. All the specimens, however, merit careful attention ; the figure on Plate IV. representing a laughing boy, is noticeable not only for its expression, which is unusually animated for a terracotta statuette, but for the extreme care with which all the details of the costume are rendered, mantle, fillet and sandals fastened with cross-way thongs. Another (Plate IV.) has an interesting peculiarity of technique, the nude portions are not merely dipped in lime-wash and then painted, they are enamelled in colour, and hence the excellent preservation of the surface and the colour. The same technique appears in several other statuettes in the British Museum collection representing Leda and the swan, a grotesque old woman, etc. In the first century B.C. the potters of Centorbi in Sicily reverted to this technique with great success, an Eros (Plate VIII.) has the nude portions enamelled in pink, and other statuettes in a lurid purple which is the reverse of pleasing.

In order to fully appreciate the excellence of the Tanagra statuettes at their best period we have only to compare Fig. 28 and Fig. 29, both representing the semi-nude figure of a youth. The graceful, easy pose, the effective contrast of the nude forms and the drapery, the gentle expression of the Tanagra youth, make up an artistic whole in which we see the ideal ephebe of Greek fancy ; the other figure, which probably comes from the neighbouring district of Eretria, and belongs to a later period, gives us a faithful and conscientious portrait of the ephebe as he was, seen through a less artistic medium than the Praxitelean ideal.

¹ Σύν μοι πῖνε, συνήβα, συνέρα, συστεφανηφόρει,
 σύν μοι μανομένῳ μαίνο, σὺν σώφρονι σωφρόνει.

PRAXILLA, Bergk *op. cit.* Frag. 1293.

The same may be said of the stalwart warrior shown in Fig. 30, who bears the same relation to the youthful armed warriors found among Tanagra figures, that the female figures from Corinth and Eretria do to the ordinary Tanagra type: he has gained in character what he has lost in grace.

If we may judge from the infrequency with which they were reproduced by foreign workshops, the masculine types did not enjoy the same favour as the feminine ones, and this was probably the case; they were consecrated to the glory of the ephebe, and represent a phase of life and thought which was too local, too exclusively Greek to appeal to nations among whom it did not exist.

CHAPTER VII

STATUETTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF MYTH AND LEGEND

“To shaggy Pan and all the wood-nymphs fair,
Fast by the rock this grateful offering stands,
A shepherd’s gift—to those who gave him there
Rest, when he fainted in the sultry air,
And reached him sweetest water with their hands.”

Translated by J. W. BURGON.

Φριξόκομῷ τόδε Πανὶ καὶ αὐλιάσιν θέτο Νύμφαις
δῶρον ὑπὸ σκοπιᾶς Θεύδοτος οἰονόμος·
οὐνέχ’ ὑπ’ ἀξαλέον θέρεος μέγα κεκμηθά
παῦσαν, ὅρέξασαι χερσὶ μελιχρὸν ὕδωρ.

ANYTE, Anthol. Pal. xvi. (App. Plan.) 291.

THE border-land of Greek mythology is peopled with a throng of beings neither human nor divine, satyrs, nymphs—“those daughters fair of Ægis-bearing Jove”—and nereids, who filled a very large place in popular fancy, and who, especially to the country folk, were ever-present and very real. The shepherd heard them as he wandered with his flocks among the mountains :¹—

“Pan on his oaten pipes awakes the strain,
And fills with dulcet sounds the pastoral plain;
Lured by his notes the nymphs their bowers forsake,
From every mountain, running stream and lake,
From every hill and ancient grove around,
And in the mazy dance trip o’er the ground.”

Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.

it was the wood-nymphs whom he thanked for grateful shade at noon-day, and for the fresh springs at which his parched flock slaked

¹ Αὐτὸς ἐπεὶ σύριγγι μελίζεται εὐκελάδῳ Πάν
ὑγρὸν ιεὶς ζευκτῶν χεῖλος ὑπὲρ καλάμων
αἱ δὲ πέριξ θαλεροῖσι χορὸν ποσὶν ἐστίγσαντο
‘Υδριάδες νύμφαι, νύμφαι Ἀμαδρυάδες.

PLATO, Frag. 24; Bergk *op. cit.* 625.

their thirst ; it was Pan who sent the hunter home with well-filled bag. These spirits were not all beneficent : the nymphs waited at the bottom of the reedy pools, and dragged the shepherds down to death ; the sailor saw the nereids dancing and singing on the tops of the waves, and prayed that they might not wish him to dwell with them in the halls of their father Nereus, and so these minor divinities were the objects of a more constant and careful worship than the great Olympian gods and goddesses who were the official protectors of states and cities.

The townsman into whose life wood-nymphs and nereids entered in a far less degree, peopled his world with attendant spirits, more particularly concerned with the occupations of a human life in its relations to other human lives,—who presided over its every act from birth to death, and had charge of everything connected with it from a lady's wool-basket to the cups for a drinking feast. The form under which popular fancy conceived these attendant spirits was very vague and indefinite, until Greek literature crystallized them into shape by providing art with a series of graceful conceptions to which it gave plastic expression. The potters could not neglect so fertile a field and one so admirably suited to the character of their wares, and in every centre of production we find figures which are neither presentments of divinities nor studies from real life, but something between the two, the form of which varies according to local taste.

It is to this class that the semi-nude maidens and winged children of Tanagra belong ; in Athens the spirits take a severer, more sculptural form, often of fully-draped female figures both winged and wingless : at Myrina we find floating youths and maidens changed by the addition of a pair of wings into Eros and Niké, and in Italy, too, the same winged youthful forms occur, usually semi-nude and leaning against a pillar.

The grave and stately maiden with arms uplifted (Fig. 16) is a fine specimen of the type which these figures take under the influence of the delicate and rather severe laws of Attic taste, but we can hardly picture her as presiding over a wool-basket or a mirror—rather she is one of the maidens to whom Athéné committed the care of the youthful Ericthonios, or a divine attendant bearing water for the purification of those about to sacrifice to the “deathless gods,” and is a worthy sister of the beautiful little nude cup-bearer (Plate VI.).

crowned with ivy, who is one of the gems of the British Museum collection. This figure, owing to its beauty, is known as Ganymede, the cup-bearer of Zeus, but it would be equally well adapted for the genius of a symposion, waiting with jug and cup to minister to the pleasure of the guests.

The maidens and winged children of Tanagra are separated from these two Attic figures by a wide difference of taste. The local preference, as we have already seen, was for delicately idealized realism, and so we find that the supernatural character of these attendant spirits is indicated not by giving them wings, but by partially undraping them and seating them out of doors to show that they were not to be taken for mere mortal maidens (Plate VIII.), but for the genii who presided at their toilet, their games and their pleasures. Sometimes they hold a mirror, sometimes a fruit, a mask, or a tambourine, but little importance can be attached to these accessories which were distributed very much according to the caprice of the potter.

The winged figures of Tanagra are the little loves afterwards so dear to Hellenistic art, distinguished only from mortal children by their winglets (Plate V.). These loves are not the great god Eros of early Greek mythology, nor even the naughty boy-love of the earlier poets (Fig. 8).¹

“ Innumerable curling tresses grace
His impudent and rakish face,
His hands are tiny, but their power
Extends to Pluto’s gloomy bower.
The peevish urchin carries wings
With which from heart to heart he springs,
As little birds, from spray to spray
Fly carelessly, in wanton play.”—Translated by Rev. W. SHEPHERD.

Not content with one love, later lyrists brought into being a whole troop of loves to sport and play with human hearts :²—

¹ Εὐπλόκαμον τὸ κάρανον, ἔχει δὲ ἵπαμὸν τὸ πρόσωπον.
μικκύλα μὲν τήνω τὰ χερύδρια, μακρὰ δὲ βάλλει.
βάλλει κεῖσ' Ἀχέροντα καὶ Ἀιοέω βασιλῆα.—MOSCHUS. *Id.* i. 12—15.

² Οὐκ εἴμ’ οὐδέ ἐτέων δύο κεῖκοσι, καὶ κοπιῶ ζῶν·
*Ωρωτες, τί κακὸν τοῦτο; τί με φλέγετε;
*Ην γὰρ ἐγώ τι πάθω, τί ποιήσετε; δῆλον, *Ερωτες
ώς τὸ πάρος παιξεσθ’ ἄφρονες ἀστραγάλοις.

“ Ye loves why doth it so content ye
 To rend the hearts of men?
 Think, loves, if mischief should beset me,
 Would it not grieve you then?
 No ! by my faith ! you’d straight forget me,
 And to your dice again ! ”—*Translated by C. MERIVALE.*

The Tanagra sprites assume the form of these latest creations of Greek literature ; they flit and float about and personify the pleasure they dispense to mortals. Sometimes they are crowned and wreathed, they play on divers instruments, they muffle themselves up coquettishly in their cloaks in imitation of human beings, sometimes they bear mirrors, caskets, fans (Plate V.) or perfumes, but whatever the occupation of the moment, whether to serve beauty, or to promote the mirth of a banquet, they dance gaily along, adding to the joy of life by the zest with which they perform their duties.

If we turn to the woodland spirits ruled over by

“ Pan, the cloven-footed deity,
 Dread king of sylvan Arcady,”

not the least picturesque among them are the satyrs, the wild men of the woods, rough and unkempt, with forms cast in human mould, but covered with shaggy hair, and with a little feathery tail and pigs’ ears to mark their beast nature.

The satyr of Greek literature is a creature “ flown with insolence and wine,” skilled in the dance, revelling and rioting over the country in the train of Dionysos, but there is an earlier tradition of a gentler satyr-race whose haunts were where¹

“ Through orchard plots with fragrance crowned,
 The clear cold fountain murmuring flows,
 And forest leaves with rustling sound,
 Invite to soft repose.”—*Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.*

To one of these Greek legend gave a name, Marsyas, and told his story thus :—Marsyas (Fig. 34), like Pan, was a skilled performer on the reed pipes, and in an evil hour he drew near to listen to the dulcet strains which Athené was drawing from a double flute, her own

¹ Ἀμφὶ δὲ (ῦδωρ) ψῦχρον κελάδει δι’ ὕσδων
 μαλίνων, αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
 κῶμα καταρρεῖ.—SAPPHO, Frag. 4; Bergk *op. cit.* 881.



IGROS, FROM SICILY.
Brit. Mus. D. 26.

AN ATTENDANT SPIRIT.
Brit. Mus. C. 316.



invention, to imitate the dying shrieks of the gorgon Medusa ; but when she saw herself mirrored in a forest pool¹

“Athena flung away,
From her pure hand, the noxious instruments
It late had touched, and thus did say,
‘Hence, ye banes of beauty, hence !
What ? Shall I my charms disgrace,
By making such an odious face?’” —*Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.*

Marsyas laughed, but he picked up the discarded flutes, and entranced with their music and certain of success, challenged Apollo to a contest in which the victor was to work his will on the vanquished. The upshot of the trial Alcæus tells :²—

“No more, mid Phrygian pines, the trills
Of the sweet-sounding flute Athena flung away
Will echo as of yore among the listening hills.
Hushed now, poor Satyr, is thy pleasant lay,
Fast bound thy hands, for that thy mortal breath
And goatherd pipes, feared not to vie
With Phœbus’ golden lyre, and thou of death,
Hast gained the crown, not victory.”

Marsyas was flayed alive by Apollo’s orders, but our statuette does not deal with the last scene in the tragedy, we only see him in festal trim, playing on his pipes, a wreath of ivy-leaves in his hair, a cloak floating over his shoulders, hair and beard well brushed, as if to heighten the contrast between the crouching figure and the glorious beauty of his invisible antagonist. The artist has not shrunk from emphasizing all the details of his beast nature, shaggy pelt, pointed ears and feathery tail. The legend, as typifying the triumph

¹ Α μὲν Ἀθάνα
ὅργαν’ ἐρριψέν θ’ ιερᾶς ἀπὸ χειρός,
εἰπέ τοι. Ἔρρετ’ αἰσχεα, σώματι λύμα,
οὐ με ταῦδε ἐγὼ κακότατι δίδωμι.—MELANIPPIDES, Bergk *op. cit.* 1245.

² Οὐκέτ’ ἀνὰ Φρυγίην πινυοτρόφον ὡς ποτε, μέλψεις
κροῖμα δι’ εὐτρήτων φθεγγόμενος δονάκων
οὐδὲ ἔτι σαῖς παλάμαις Τριτωνίδος ἔργον Ἀθάνα,
ὡς πρὶν ἐπανθήσει νυμφογενὲς Σάτυρε.
Δὴ γὰρ ἀλυκτοπέδαις σφίγγη χέρας οῦνεκα Φοίβῳ
θνατὸς ἐὼν, θείαν εἰς ἔριν ἡντίασας.
Λωτοὶ δ’ οἱ κλάζοντες ἵσον φόρμιγγι μελιχρὸν
ῶπασαν ἐξ ἀέθλων οὐ στέφος ἀλλ’ ἀτδαν.—*Anthol. Pal.* [xvi.] (App. Plan.) 8.

of Greek over barbarian, was a favourite one with the artists of the fifth and fourth centuries, who feeling the impolicy of laying so much stress on Marsyas' beast nature, made him human, save for his ears—and the wits of Athens made merry over the Satyr of Praxiteles who had lost his tail !

Another woodland musician (Plate VI.) challenged Apollo¹—

“ Pan, the bright-haired god of Pastoral,
Goat-footed, two-horned, amorous of noise,
Who yet is lean and loveless and doth owe,
By lot, all loftiest mountains crowned with snow,
All tops of hills and clifly highnesses,
All sylvan thickets; and the fortresses
Of thorniest queaches here and there doth rove.”

Translated by T. CHAPMAN.

the gay insouciant being, leader of sylvan mirth and revelry, whose appearance so charmed the gods in festal assembly in Olympos, that “they call the name of him *Pan* because he delighted them *all*,” and to whom mortals sang.²

“ Io Pan! we sing to thee,
King of famous Arcady!
Mighty dancer! follower free
Of the nymphs, mid sport and glee!
Io Pan, sing merrily,
To our merry minstrelsy.”—*Translated by J. H. MERIVALE.*

To charm the mountain nymphs, Pan fashioned the reed pipes, and challenged Apollo to prove his lyre the better instrument. Worsted in the contest he withdrew to his woodland fastnesses, content

¹ αἰγιτόδην, δικέρωτα, φιλόκροτον, ὅστ' ἀνὰ πίση
δεινόριηστ' ἄμιδις φοιτᾶ χορούθεσι νύμφαις.
αἵτε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης στείβοντι κάρηνα
Πάν', ἀγακεκλύμεναι, νόμιον θέον: ἀγλαεύθειρον
αὐχμήνθ', ὃς πάντα λόφον νιφόεντα λέλογχε
καὶ κορυφὰς ὄρέων καὶ πετρόεντα κέλειθα
φοιτᾶ δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διὰ ῥωπῆα πυκνὰ.

HOMER, *Hymn to Pan*, 1—7.

² Ω Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων κλαεννᾶς,
δρυχηστά, Βρομίας ὄπαδε Νύμφαις,
γελάσεις, ὦ Πάν, ἐπ' ἐμαῖς
εὐφροσύναισι, ταῖσθ' ἀοιδαῖς κεχαρημένος.

Schol. CALLISTR. 5; Bergk *op. cit.* 1288.

with the adoration of his special votaries the shepherds and hunters, and many were the offerings made

“To shaggy Pan, and all the wood-nymphs fair.”

He was himself a mighty hunter, the character in which our statuette represents him with scrip and staff (Plate VI.), and he was moreover the patron of all simple light-hearted folk, and more than any other divinity typifies that delight in living which is the keynote of the Greek attitude towards life and death. To the Greek “life” was earthly life, this world was beautiful, and the best he had to hope for in the nether world was a poor, faint copy of its joys; it is this love of life, this joy in the mere fact of being alive, not dead, which separates the ancient world so sharply from the modern,—to the Greek, life was not a vale of tears, it was a garden full of flowers with

“Gather ye roses while ye may,
Old time will still be flying,”

for a motto, and it is this joyous spirit, of which Pan was the outward expression, which is such a joy and refreshment to our world in its intervals of sighing “vanity of vanities, all is vanity and vexation of spirit.”

The popularity in legend and in art of the sea-nymphs, the nereids, is in striking contrast to the silence of Greek literature about them; there they hardly appear at all, and then only in the train of their sister Thetis, but doubtless their importance in legend is largely due to their connection with the story of Achilles and the events of his brief life.

When Homer tells the tragic tale of how Achilles lost his dearest friend Patroklos¹—

“Whom I honoured most
Of all my comrades, loved him as my soul;
Him have I lost; and Hector from his corpse
Hath stripped those arms, those weighty, beauteous arms,
A marvel to behold, which from the gods
Peleus received, a glorious gift.”—LORD DERBY’S *Translation*.

¹ ἐπεὶ φίλος ὥλεθ’ ἔταιρος
Πάτροκλος, τὸν ἐγὼ περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔταιρων
ἴστον ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ, τὸν ἀπώλεσα, τεύχεα δ’ Ἔκτωρ
δηγώσας ἀπέδυτε πελώρια, θαῦμα ἴδεσθαι
καλά—*Iliad*, xviii. 80—84.

how at the prayer of his goddess-mother, silver-footed Thetis, Hephaistos fashioned for him¹—

“A shield vast and strong,
A breastplate, dazzling bright as flame of fire,
And next, a weighty helmet for his head,
Fair richly wrought, with crest of gold above,
Then last, well-fitting greaves of pliant tin.”—LORD DERBY’s *Translation*.

he passes over the delivery of the armour in a few words,²

“She, like a falcon, darted swiftly down,
Charged with the glittering arms Hephaistos wrought.”—*Ibid.*

but for some reason, possibly this very reticence, the scene took hold of popular fancy, which decorated and adorned it with the graceful figures of Thetis’ sister-nereids, the sea-maids throng,³

“Whose dance enrings
The eternal river springs,
When dances heaven star glancing
Adoringly,
And the white moon is dancing.”—*Translated by W. WAY.*

and instead of the solitary figure of Thetis we see⁴

“The sea maids flitting by shores Eubœan,
From the depths where the golden anvils are
Of the fire god, a hero’s harness bearing.”—*Ibid.*

The story gains in grace what it loses in pathos, for our attention is distracted from the doomed figure of Achilles, to the graceful sisters

¹ ποίει δέ πρώτιστα σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε,
τεῦξ ἄρα οἱ θώρηκα φαεινότερον πυρὸς αἰγῆς.
τεῦξε δέ οἱ κόρυθα βριαρήν, κροτάφοις ἀραρῦναν
καλήν δαιδαλέην, ἐπὶ δέ χρύσεον λόφον, ἥκεν.
τεῦξε δέ οἱ κηρυμίδας ἔανοῦ καστιτέροι.—*Iliad*, xviii. 608—612.

² ἡ δ' ἐσ τῆς ἵκανε θεοῦ πάρα δῶρα φέρουσα.—*Ibid.* xix. 3.

³ ὅτε καὶ Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς
ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ
χωρεύει δὲ Σελάρα
καὶ πεντίκοντα κόραι
Νηρέος αἱ κατὰ πόντον
ἀενάων τε ποταμῶν.
δύνας χορευόμεναι.—EURIP. *Ion.* 1078 *ff.*

⁴ Νηρῆδες δ' Εὐβοϊδας ἀκτὰς λιποῦσαι
Ἡφαιστον χρυσέων ἀκμόνων
μόχθους ἀσπιστὰς ἔφερον τευχέων.—EURIP. *Elect.* 442 *ff.*

who bear their heavy burdens so lightly over the sea. It is this version of the legend which our statuette illustrates (Fig. 32), and borrowing yet another touch from popular fancy, adds a dolphin steed, the good-humoured clumsy beast, who plays so important a part in all sea legends, and forms a piquant contrast to the graceful maiden who sits securely upon his back, giving all her care to the helmet

“Fair richly wrought, with crest of gold above.”

The composition is worthy of note for two reasons ; it illustrates a definite legend, and it is evidently a close copy of some famous sculptural group. Statuettes inspired by some famous statue are not rare, but in that case the potter usually simplifies the design, and gives only its main features ; here he has given the details of the original, the round face, small head with its close curls, the attitude of the Nereid, sitting tight on her dolphin, the wind-blown drapery strained tightly across her knees by the pace at which the dolphin dashes along, even the elaborate helmet, difficult though its reproduction was in clay. The same design appears on the lid of a little gold box (Fig. 33) of fifth-century (405 B.C.) Attic workmanship, and considering the great interest taken at Athens in all matters pertaining to the sea, it is not strange if the potter attempted a cheap reproduction of a popular group. His copy is not highly finished, the hair is only roughly indicated at the back of the head, the graving tool has slipped at the corner of the mouth, giving the face rather a sulky expression, one hand is a flat, shapeless mass, the fingers of the other are not separated and contrast curiously with the care bestowed on the helmet, but the latter is the keynote of the composition ; a Nereid on a dolphin might be¹

“ escorting Achilles, the fleet-foot son
Of Thetis, with King Agamemnon, on
Unto where broad Simois, seaward creeping
Rippled and glittered on Trojan strand.”—Translated by W. WAY.

but a Nereid with a helmet in her hands could only be journeying to Achilles’ tent. The beautiful design, the clumsy hands, and the elabor-

¹ πορεύων τὸν τὰς Θέτιδος
κοῦφον ἄλμα ποδῶν Ἀχιλῆ
σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τρωῖας
ἐπὶ Σιμούντιδας ἀκτάς.—EURIP. *Elect.* 437 *ff.*

ate helmet are all typical of a Greek potter's work, for it was grace and novelty of design, not finish of detail, which was expected of it.

The humorous side of Greek life is the only one about which the statuettes tell us nothing, because the intense objection which the Greeks had to absolute realism in art, led them to exclude a class of subject, the comic, in which we should have thought that they, with their keen sense of humour, would delight, but comic events happen only in real life and generally lose their point when transferred to that ideal world which, in the eyes of the Greeks, was the only sphere of art; art could however represent a scene from real life in a spirit of jest, if that scene could be transferred from the real to the ideal world.

The accompanying statuette (Fig. 36) is an excellent example of this; at first sight it represents an every-day scene, a pedagogue with his young charge, but a closer inspection shows that the pedagogue has a socratic satyr face and pig's ears, that he holds a wine-jar on his head, and the child a bunch of grapes in his hand, and that the group therefore represents an elderly Seilenos taking the little god Dionysos to school, and thoughtfully bearing a jar of wine for their mutual refreshment there. The humour of the situation lies in the idea of a Seilenos, a maudlin old good-for-nothing, assuming the functions of a governor, and of the god Dionysos walking sedately to school through the streets like a good little boy.

The Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor and Italy did not share this objection to realism in art, and we find countless "comic" figures, caricatures of the physical defects of the weaker parts of the population, the old, the crippled, the slaves, the actors. There are of course some character-studies from real life among the Greek statuettes (Fig. 24), but they are meant not to give a funny portrait, but a true one, whereas the Hellenistic figures are deliberate caricatures for the purpose of raising a laugh. The Hellenistic sense of humour was a more brutal thing, amused by physical peculiarities, whereas the Greek required the skilful commingling of incongruous ideas, as for instance the conjunction of a Seilenos and a pedagogue in one and the same person.

For this reason parodies, in our sense of the word, the degrading of the ideal into the real, are almost unknown in Greek art, for the only permissible parody was one which remained in the world of fancy.

An amusing instance of such is the accompanying travesty of the Hermes of Praxiteles, where instead of the graceful figure in the prime of manly beauty, we see an ugly old satyr (Fig. 35), whose ugliness is only intensified by his wreath. To parody the group by turning Hermes into a slave, and Dionysos into a squalling baby would not have been permissible.

It is this apt association of incongruous ideas to which the ancient world applied the term “Attic salt”; the salt is apt to lose its savour in translation, but there is one little folk-song, on the theme of “the pot called the kettle black,” which may bear the test.¹

“With his claw the snake surprising
 Thus the crab kept moralizing—
 Out on all such turns and graces,
 Straight’s the word for honest paces.”

Translated by D. K. SANDFORD.

The bulk of the statuettes reproduced in the present publication are in the British Museum, and my thanks are due both to the Trustees, and to Mr. A. S. Murray, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, for permission to use them for this purpose. To Mr. Murray I have also to express my warmest thanks for his kindness, not only on this but on many other occasions, and for the unfailing interest, patience, and courtesy with which he has always helped me in my work.

¹ ‘Ο καρκίνος ὁδὸς’ ἔφα,
 χαλᾶτὸν δόφιν λαβών,
 εὐθὺν χρὴ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἔμμεν
 καὶ μὴ σκολιὰ φρονέν.

Bergk *op. cit.* Schol. 16; Frag. 1292.

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FIG. 1. TOY GOAT.
Brit. Mus. B 279.

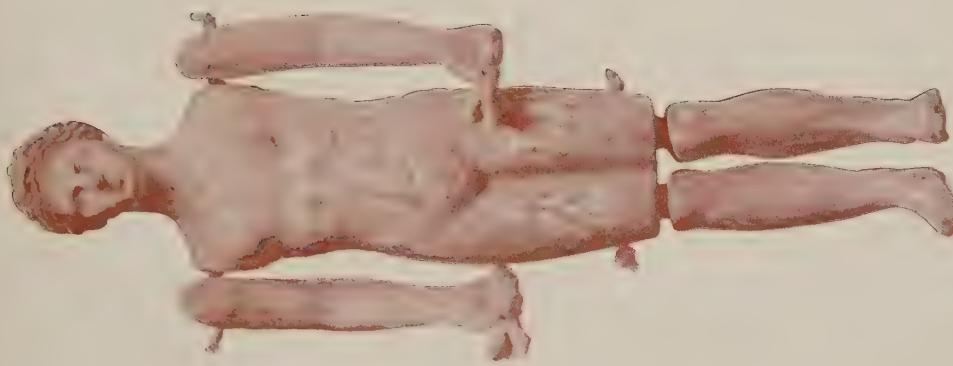


FIG. 2. JOINTED DOLL.
Brit. Mus. B 236.



FIG. 3. WOMAN KNEADING BREAD
Brit. Mus. B 221.



FIG. 5. NIKI.
Brit. Mus. D 82.

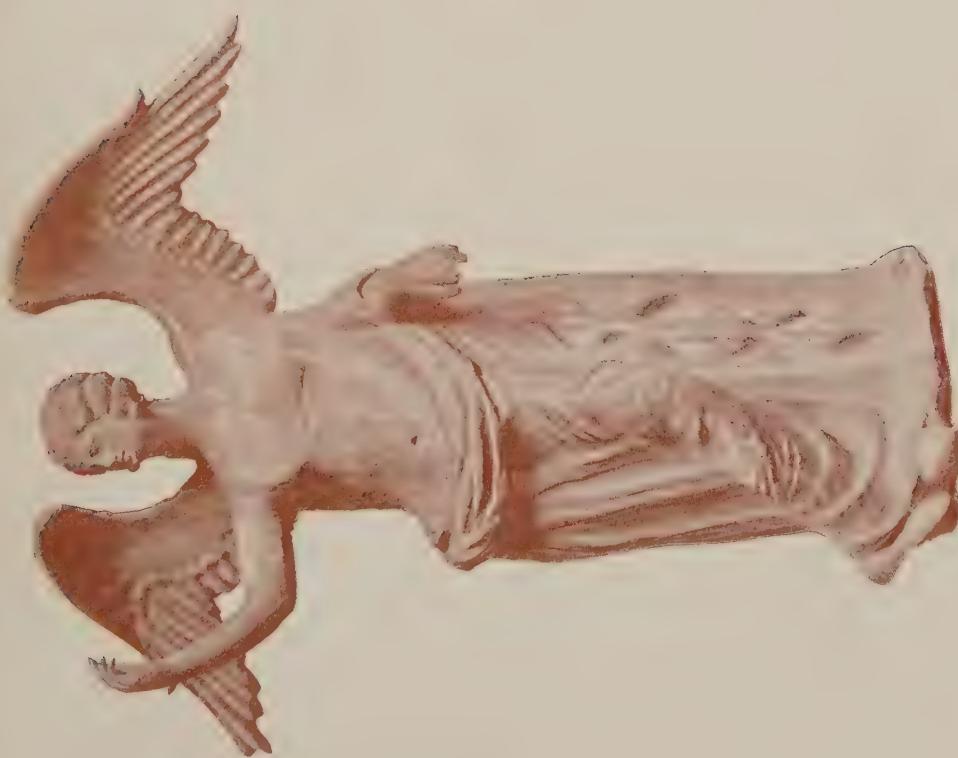


FIG. 4. NIKI.
Brit. Mus. D 81.



FIG. 7. EROS BURNING A BUTTERFLY.
FIGURE NOT RETOUCHE.

Brit. Mus. C 535.



FIG. 6. ANCIENT MOULD
WITH MODERN CAST.

Brit. Mus. E 14.



FIG. 8. EROS BURNING A BUTTERFLY.
FIGURE RETOUCHE.

Brit. Mus. C 536.



FIG. 10. LATER TYPE OF
SEATED GODDESS.

Brit. Mus. B 83.



FIG. 9. ARCHAIC GODDESS.

Brit. Mus. B 58.



FIG. 11. GROTESQUE FIGURE.

Brit. Mus. B 89.



FIG. 12. OSCILLUM.

Brit. Mus. B 176.



FIG. 13. APHRODITE, FROM LARNACA.
Brit. Mus. C 80.



FIG. 16. ATHENIAN NYMPH.

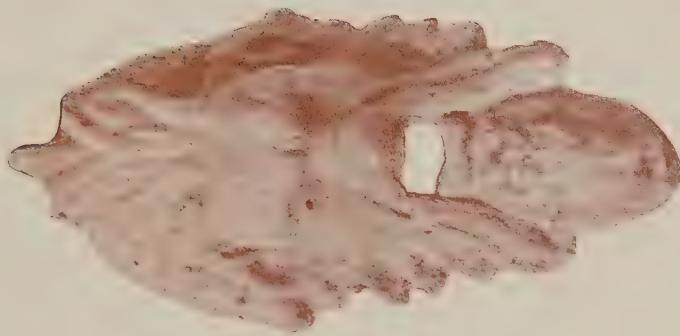


FIG. 15. MASK OF PAN.



FIG. 14. ATHENA.
Brit. Mus. C 125.



FIG. 17. GREEK LADY IN OUTDOOR DRESS.

Brit. Mus. C 215.



FIG. 18. APHRODITE WITH A VASE OF PERFUME.
Brit. Mus. D 88.



FIG. 19. ARTEMIS, FROM MYRINA.
Brit. Mus. C 530.

FIG. 20. LADY IN OUTDOOR DRESS.
Brit. Mus. C 263.



FIG. 21. GIRL WITH A PET BIRD.
Brit. Mus. C 246.





FIG. 22. CORINNA.

Brit. Mus. C 25.



FIG. 23. A LITTLE GIRL.
Brit. Mus. C 321.



FIG. 24. IN THE NURSERY.
Brit. Mus. C 279.



FIG. 25. A GREEK MADONNA.
Brit. Mus. C 278.



FIG. 26. THE WRITING LESSON.
Brit. Mus. C 214.



FIG. 27. A COZY CHAT.

Brit. Mus. C 529.



FIG. 30. A WARRIOR.



FIG. 29. A BANQUETTER.



FIG. 28. AN ATHLETE.
Brit. Mus. C 323.





FIG. 31. A GREEK LADY IN GALA DRESS.
Brit. Mus. C 254.



FIG. 32. A NEREID WITH THE HELMET OF ACHILLES
Brit. Mus. C 335.



FIG. 33. GOLD BOX WITH
FIGURE OF A NEREID.
Brit. Mus.



FIG. 34. MARSyas
Brit. Mus. C 73.



FIG. 36. SEILENOS AS A PEDAGOGUE WITH DIONYSOS.

Brit. Mus. C 281.



FIG. 35. SATYR WITH THE INFANT DIONYSOS.

Brit. Mus. C 10.

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